



Daily Report

East Europe

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Albania: U.S. Panama Invasion 'Criminal Act'

AU2012152789 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian
1430 GMT 20 Dec 89

[Frederik Mikeli commentary]

[Text] The United States undertook last night an open military aggression against Panama. Twelve thousand American troops, warships, tanks, and helicopters were dispatched by order of the U.S. President to militarily occupy this small country in Central America, to overthrow the legitimate government of Panama, and to physically liquidate General Noriega, commander in chief of the Panama Defense Forces.

According to various news agencies, the situation remains tense. There is talk about bombing operations by the U.S. Air Force, fighting between Panamanian and U.S. forces, and about victims. First reports say that hundreds of civilians have been killed.

Meanwhile, about 2 hours ago, U.S. President George Bush tried to justify the aggression carried out by the United States against Panama. He said that this was the only way to establish democracy in Panama. White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater said in Washington that the military attack carried out by the United States against Panama was intended to protect democracy and the lives of Americans. It is obvious, both in Bush's speech and in Fitzwater's statement, that the United States is once again resorting to the same formula, a formula that we have heard before in connection with aggression, occupation, or the dispatching of troops to other countries by the United States.

However, this has nothing to do with protecting democracy or the lives of U.S. citizens. What we are confronted with here is a criminal act by Washington, which gives itself the right to intervene and to militarily invade a sovereign state. From a position of force and trampling upon all norms of international rights, the United States has once again exposed to international public opinion the aggressive nature of the policy that predominates in the White House. The United States, which presents itself as the supposed champion of democracy and peace in the world, is showing through its deeds, as is happening now in Panama, that it is the biggest oppressor of democracy and of rights in the world. The United States is showing that in order to preserve its hegemonistic and expansionist interests, it is prepared to use the force of arms to defend these interests.

The U.S. aggression against Panama cannot fail to arouse indignation among the progressive and anti-imperialist public opinion, which condemns such acts as being contrary to the interests of peace and security in the world.

CSSR: Latin Students Protest at U.S. Embassy

LD2112213889 Prague CTK in English 1908 GMT
21 Dec 89

[Text] Prague Dec 21 (CTK)—Several hundreds of students from Panama, Colombia, Venezuela and other Latin American countries staged a demonstration in front of the U.S. Embassy in Prague today.

The demonstrators chanted slogans in support of the Panamanian people and demanded an immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from that country.

GDR Demands U.S. Cease Military Actions

LD2112190189 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1405 GMT 21 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—GDR Government spokesman Wolfgang Meyer today demanded in a press statement the immediate cessation of military actions by the United States in Panama, and expressed his serious concern over the negative consequences of the tense situation for peace and security in Central America.

The sovereignty, independence, and territorial integrity of Panama should be respected without limitation, and the problems solved exclusively through peaceful means. The use and threat of violence are no alternative to this. Adherence to the principles of international law, as laid down in the UN Charter, is an indispensable principle governing relations between states.

The spokesman also pointed out that the safeguarding of free passage through the Panama Canal, which is in the interests of all states, demands a peaceful resolution of the conflict.

Poland Condemns U.S. Use of Force

LD2112145789 Warsaw PAP in English 1105 GMT
21 Dec 89

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 21—"Poland still maintains diplomatic relations with Panama. Poland is coming out in favour of the peaceful solving of all international conflicts," Polish Foreign Ministry spokesman Stefan Staniszewski told PAP today answering a question on Poland's stance on the use of armed force in Panama.

"Poland is of the opinion that the use of armed force in an international dispute or situation may take place only in tune with international law, and in particular, with the U.N. Charter. Poland is coming out in favour of strict observance of other treaties binding in this region."

Poland expresses hope that the development of the situation in Panama will be in tune with the will of the Panamanian nation," said he.

Press Comments

*LD2112230489 Warsaw PAP in English 1508 GMT
21 Dec 89*

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 21—The U.S. attack on Panama, targeting Manuel Antonio Noriega, comes in for diversified editorial comment in today's Warsaw dailies. Some headlines and comment:

"American onslaught on Noriega's stronghold," SOLI-DARNOSC'S GAZETA WYBORCZA "Panamanian Operation," government RZECZPOSLITA, "American Bombs on Panama," ZYCIE WARSZAWY, "Brezhnev Doctrine" Landed in Panama," communist TRYBUNA LUDU.

Writes Kurier Polski, Democratic Party, in its editorial on the topic, titled "What about Panama?"

It is hard to predict now what lies in store for Panama. It is easier by far to envisage Noriega's fates. Noriega being a very controversial figure, for Panama's direct neighbours, too. Suffice it to say not long ago the seven Latin American presidents unanimously chastised the absence of democracy and ceaseless violations of human rights in Panama."

TRYBUNA LUDU's comment strikes a different note, writes the paper in its editorial titled "No Justification:"

Wednesday's aggression must arouse all the greater anxiety, as it took place in a period when the world found itself at the stage of dialogue and peace agreements, of putting out local conflicts through political methods. The Panama operation hits out at these efforts. More, it gives ammunition to those who carry on banking on force and scuttle peace solutions.

ZYCIE WARSZAWY has this comment in its editorial titled "Bad Counsel:"

Here is Moscow which unequivocally dissociates itself from the "Brezhnev Doctrine" with each word by its leader. With each of its decisions proving out it is respecting the independence of its neighbours although it used to want to see them cheering up and saying yes sir, here is an America resorting to violence, as it deems it to be a jeering when an unwanted politician says no to it.

This operation will harm Washington in the world.

Romania: U.S. Invasion in Panama Reported

*AU2012113089 Bucharest Domestic Service
in Romanian 1100 GMT 20 Dec 89*

[Text] The Panamanian radio station Radio Nacional, cited by press agencies, has announced that, during the night of Tuesday-Wednesday, planes and helicopters belonging to the U.S. Air Force started bombing the country's capital, Panama City, in the areas where the barracks and headquarters of the Panama Defense Forces are located. Units of the U.S. ground forces are also participating in the intervention. According to press

agencies, which cite the White House spokesman, the operation was ordered by U.S. President George Bush.

Condemnation of U.S.

*AU2112070289 Bucharest Domestic Service
in Romanian 0500 GMT 21 Dec 89*

[Text] With profound concern and indignation, public opinion in Romania has learned about the U.S. armed aggression against an independent and sovereign state in Central America, the Republic of Panama.

Romania has repeatedly drawn attention to the fact—by appealing to reason—that under conditions in which the world situation is particularly complex and serious, it is necessary to do everything possible to renounce the use or threat of force and to take constructive actions based on the unanimously recognized norms of international law, and on the desire to solve disputes between states solely by peaceful means and negotiations.

The brutal U.S. aggression against a small state that is defending its freedom and independence, which are violated by a superpower, are all the more condemnable. It is the sacred right of any people to independently decide its mode of life and political regime in accordance with its aspirations and traditions.

Expressing solidarity with the struggle of the Panamanian people for independence of its country, the Romanian people firmly condemn the U.S. armed aggression against the Republic of Panama and demand that the colonial and imperialist policy of domination and of interference in the domestic affairs of other peoples be stopped once and for all.

The just and lasting solution of the complex problems in Central America—including those faced by the United States with the Panamanian state—is not possible through a policy of force and dictate and gross interference in the domestic affairs of those states, but only through a peaceful and political settlement on the basis of the unanimously recognized norms of international law. This is the only solution in keeping with the requirements of peace, the cause of detente, and understanding throughout the world.

Public Opinion Disapproves

*AU2012211289 Bucharest Domestic Service
in Romanian 2000 GMT 20 Dec 89*

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and to take constructive actions based on the unanimously recognized norms of international law and on the desire to solve disputes between states solely by peaceful means and negotiations.

The U.S. brutal acts of aggression against a small state that is defending its freedom and independence, which are violated by a superpower, are all the more condemnable. It

the sacred right of any people to independently decide its mode of life and political regime in accordance with its aspirations and traditions.

Expressing solidarity with the struggle of the Panamanian people for independence of its country, the Romanian people firmly condemn the armed aggression of the United States against Panama.

Dimitrov Discusses New Foreign Policy*AU2112193689 Sofia BTA in English
1846 GMT 21 Dec 89*

["Statement of Bulgarian Foreign Minister"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 21 (BTA)—The restructuring requires an economical and efficient foreign policy which should be compatible with the country's real national interests and its real possibilities. Foreign political and economic activity as well as international cultural activity should be placed under the efficient control of the National Assembly, said today before Bulgarian and foreign journalists Mr Boyko Dimitrov, minister of foreign affairs.

In the future the Bulgarian foreign policy will be aimed at seeking new partners and opening widely to the world, without giving up its hitherto existing relations of cooperation and solidarity. Speaking about priority regions, besides the Balkans and the eastern parts of the Mediterranean he also mentioned the Near and the Middle East.

The minister of foreign affairs denounced the armed actions of the U.S. Government in Panama, pointing out it is incompatible with the principles of international law, the UN Statute and the international norms of civilized communication that have been established in the contemporary world. No motives can excuse this action, he stated. Underlining that the aspiration for democracy cannot be crushed by military force, Minister Dimitrov expressed serious concern over the dangerous consequences these events may have in Central America in particular and in Latin America in general.

Answering a question about the attitude of the institution headed by him towards the latest developments in Romania, Boyko Dimitrov reminded that as early as on December 19 the Ministry of Foreign Affairs made a protest against the unilateral measures adopted by the Romanian side for imposing restrictions on the admission regime at the frontier. He also mentioned the protest made by the Bulgarian public by formal and informal organizations and by the leadership of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] which was expressed at the meeting with the ambassador of Romania at the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP.

Asked if there would be a reaction on the part of the Bulgarian Government, Mr Boyko Dimitrov said that it is necessary to weigh up every step by taking into consideration the interests of the country. In this connection he noted that three million tonnes of goods that are vitally important for the Bulgarian economy pass in transit through Romania.

Speaking about the future of Bulgaro-Turkish relations and the problems of Bulgarian Muslims, Mr Dimitrov said that at the time of the former authoritarian regime all decisions on these questions were made by one man and neither the government nor the Ministry of Foreign Affairs nor the CC of the BCP and the Politburo were

informed about them. All these institutions had to face a fait accompli and had subjective and hazardous decisions imposed on them.

The question is very delicate because of the emotions that have piled up in the population, said Minister Dimitrov. Every word that is out of place or omitted can have unpredictable consequences. That is why I hope that the Turkish side will come with a constructive position to the meeting with my colleague in Kuwait on January 9, 1990. That is what our approach is going to be.

Mr Boyko Dimitrov announced that a commission had been set up at the CC of the BCP chaired by Aleksandur Lilov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CC of the BCP. The commission will carefully analyse all aspects of the problem and will work out the party's position on it. Besides the debates at the Central Committee, all our partners, allies and forces which disagree with us will be able to take part in the discussion, i.e. all public forces in Bulgaria. We are aware that this is a problem not only of the party, but of all citizens and a broad public consensus is needed to solve it, stated Minister Dimitrov.

The solution can be based only on the contemporary understanding of human rights laid down in the Vienna documents and on the basis of safeguarding Bulgaria's national interests, said Minister Dimitrov. The processes of democratization and glasnost are in unison with the Bulgarian leadership's sincere desire to maintain good relations with all neighbouring countries, Turkey included. Political good will, maximum tactfulness and sense of responsibility are needed in order to turn a new page in the Bulgaro-Turkish dialogue, stated Mr Boyko Dimitrov. At the same time the Bulgarian Government will not accept, nor will the Bulgarian people allow any encroachment on the country's vital national interests, interference in its home affairs or impingement upon its national sovereignty and integrity, he said.

Answering a question on Bulgaro-Yugoslav relations, Minister Dimitrov said that there are processes of innovation in both countries which provide a broad basis for constructive interaction. He voiced the opinion that now it is possible to open the Bulgaro-Yugoslav frontier for carrying out an extensive exchange of people. Based on the principles of international law, good-neighbourly relations and solidarity we can successfully go ahead and overcome some negative deposits in bilateral relations. Asked about his stand on the so-called question of Macedonia, Boyko Dimitrov stated, "I am convinced that in Bulgaria there is no ground, neither historical, nor legal or any other whatsoever for raising this question."

Romanian Solidarity Committee Formed*AU2112192889 Sofia Domestic Service
in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 21 Dec 89*

[Text] At SOFIA PRESS AGENCY today, an initiative committee for solidarity with the Romanian people was established.

The committee calls on all Bulgarians who cherish liberty and human dignity to send protest telegrams and letters through the Romanian Embassy in Sofia to Nicolae Ceausescu against the bloody terror aimed at stifling the hopes of an entire people for liberty and democracy.

The staff of the BULGARIAN TELEGRAPH AGENCY adopted a declaration today that states as follows:

We, BTA employees, express our extreme outrage and furious protest against the bloody repressions, by which the Ceausescu regime is attempting to prolong its political death agonies. We voice our full support and solidarity with the just struggle of the Romanian people for human rights, [word indistinct], and democracy.

We feel deep sorrow for the numerous innocent victims, children included, who were struck by the bullets of the dictatorial regime, which is waging war against its own people.

We believe that the innocently shed blood will be the last crime committed by the dictatorship and will stain purple the banners of a new, free Romania.

We call upon the Bulgarian Communist Party, the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union, all other sociopolitical forces in Bulgaria, and all Bulgarians to condemn in the most categorical manner the criminal actions of the Ceausescu regime.

We appeal to the National Assembly, the State Council, and the government to undertake everything possible to alleviate the fate of the Romanians, to ensure that their lawful rights, guaranteed by the Helsinki Final Act to which Romania is a signatory, are met.

We consider it the duty of every civilized state to make its contribution to ensure the international isolation of Ceausescu's doomed bloody regime, which is hateful to the whole of mankind.

Situation in Romania Noted by Media

AU2112114989

[Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 1000 GMT on 21 December carries three reports related to the situation in Romania.

The first is a 1-minute factual report on President Ceausescu's 20 December television speech and the announcement of martial law in Timisoara.

The second report is a 3-minute recording of a conversation with "two Bulgarian citizens who returned this morning from Romania, and who have witnessed the tragic events in Timisoara. While we know their names, for understandable reasons we shall not give them."

The two Bulgarians, apparently truck drivers, describe "masses of people, predominantly students, who chanted 'Down with Ceausescu,' 'Down with the Romanian Communist Party' and 'Down with dictatorship.'" They

describe the activity of the police and army units, and say that "since they were afraid, they fled from the scene of the clash." Nevertheless, they mention "small children being thrown to the ground by the powerful stream of water" used to disperse the demonstrators, and the burning of Ceausescu's books, taken from bookshops whose windows were broken. In addition they say that "buildings were set on fire, and we saw four tanks, two armored troop carriers, and two anti-demonstration vehicles that were burned down by the demonstrators. This we saw with our own eyes."

The final report is 2-minute report on "the so-called spontaneous demonstrations, organized only hours after Ceausescu returned from Iran." The announcer recalls that "Ceausescu described the demonstrators in Timisoara as hooligans," and points out that parts of Ceausescu's television speech are "repeated verbatim" in the demonstrations.

In this context the announcer says: "From the articles in the Romanian press, which also repeat passages of Ceausescu's speech, one can see that their authors do not have specific information, but this does not prevent them from unanimously condemning the hooligans, and demanding that they be harshly punished." In conclusion he says the following:

"I think that we could spare you our excessive irony. Until very recently we had no ground whatsoever to use it."

Mladenov's Report to BCP CC Plenum

AU2112090289 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO
in Bulgarian 12 Dec 89 pp 1,2,3

[BCP Central Committee report to the BCP Central Committee Plenum held from 11-13 December at the Sofia Boyana Residence, read by Petur Mladenov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee at the opening session on 11 December: "On the State of the Country, the Party, and on Immediate Tasks"]

[Text] Comrades, a month has past since the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee November Plenum. The Bulgarian people greeted its decisions with spontaneous approval. They expressed their categorical support for the new party policy and for overcoming the profound deformations that were allowed to occur, for the construction of a modern socialist and law-governed state with the efforts of all our people, of the whole Bulgarian nation.

Therefore, we are at the beginning of a radical change in our country's situation. We are quite convinced of the necessity to engage in a detailed and honest analysis so we may understand the essential causes that led the party and the state into the present crisis and find a correct way out of this situation.

The dissatisfaction that has accumulated for a long time is now manifesting itself in our country. This reaction is

fully understandable. Several decades have passed since the victory of socialist revolution that opened a broad horizon of social, economic, and intellectual progress to Bulgaria, providing the opportunity for real people's power and human freedoms. The country has overcome the inherited backwardness and created a great economic potential. An accelerated progress in our cultural development was achieved, and grave social diseases were healed. The People's Republic of Bulgaria finally enjoys real international security. These achievements are undeniable, and any attempt at underestimating them would contradict historical truth.

Nevertheless, we would not be worthy of our responsibility to the people as a ruling party and as a Central Committee unless we understand that our country was involved in a period of serious crisis in recent years, in a period of increasing social tension in our overall development.

In mentioning this serious situation of crisis, we have in mind the following phenomena and trends that are exerting a strong social, economic, political, and moral influence upon the general state of our society. They can be described as follows:

- Profound deformations in our society and system of administration;
- Stagnation in our economic development, dangerous backwardness in the structural and technological renewal of the economy as a result of gross shortcomings in economic and investment policy, threatening foreign debts;
- Increase in inflation, great difficulties on the domestic market, resulting in a deterioration of the living standard, and existence of widespread corruption;
- Serious damage caused to the nation's cultural and intellectual life, decline of basic moral principles and values;
- The escalation of Todor Zhivkov's personal power regime to a particularly repulsive degree;
- As a result of all this—the people's confidence in the party considerably diminished.

For this reason, the first, main question that we should discuss is: How did we come to this and who is responsible for it?

Before we try to answer this question, in exercising our function as members of the party leadership, we should add the following clarification: It is evidently impossible for us, at the present stage, to provide a detailed and well-founded explanation on all the numerous objective and subjective causes of the situation. This can be accomplished only following a careful and objective analysis that requires more time. The final conclusion is still to be awaited. However, we are resolutely beginning as of today with a comprehensive evaluation of the past years of Bulgarian socialism. We are starting with a sharp

turn in a new direction. Nevertheless, full unanimity exists regarding the main reasons for the difficult situation that emerged in our Bulgarian society. The question is about the Stalinist model that, under the circumstances existing in our country, assumed specifically Bulgarian, national features.

As far as the interpretation and the acceptance of this conclusion are concerned, I think that discussions, controversial views, and different shades of opinions are normal and should exist in a society. Everyone of us was somehow involved in the former system and everyone tried to find its proper place in it, everyone had his own stand on the processes under way.

The deterioration in the country's situation was not unexpected for us Central Committee members. This could be foreseen long before we reached the present situation of crisis. The former leadership set up working teams and created "concepts." They were expected to produce miracles likely to overcome the difficult problems and initiate a successful development. In the course of a permanent replacement of cadres, feverish reorganizations followed each other. Some people claimed that this was the correct method of accumulating useful experience, but from the practical point of view the result was inevitably nil, even totally negative.

Therefore, the main causes of the situation were the existing Stalinist administrative-command system, the monopoly of power, and the total control over production and distribution that was subjected to the authority of a bureaucratic upper crust. The chief concern of this clique was by no means to overcome the situations of crisis, but to preserve its predominant positions in all sectors of social life.

In the sphere of state and social affairs, a situation similar to conditions under feudalism was established. A small group headed by Todor Zhivkov had seized the power and was abusing it. Power-loving individuals and careerists of various types rallied around this clique, which very soon assumed the features of a family and kinsmen clan. Such people were appointed to key positions by the leader, they enjoyed privileges that authorized them to commit arbitrary actions in the leader's name, and through him, in the name of the party and state, and to manipulate important public institutions.

This was deeply insulting for our people, who with their selfless efforts had built up the foundations of a social system free of the exploitation of man by man. On the basis of the people's achievements, the regime degenerated into the dictatorship of a clan, under which the really powerful people belonged to the general secretary's inner circle and acted as his propagandistic and repressive entourage.

"The scientific cadres" of the former leadership tried to justify problems with peculiar arguments by pointing out the "mistakes" of the classic authors of Marxism-Leninism, by blaming the backwardness of Bulgarian society, which allegedly was not yet mature for socialist

revolution, the plots of imperialism, or the shortcomings of the subjective factor. This was done in the evident purpose of justifying Todor Zhivkov and his clique. Nevertheless, let us examine the crucial problem: We, who are here present, or the majority of us, also belonged to the leadership under whose regime various shortcomings were allowed to occur, and if we are honest we should even call them failures. This leadership was unanimously elected at a number of party congresses, its policy was approved. Only the proclamation of the truth, of the whole truth, and nothing but the truth can exculpate and purify us.

Many questions are still open: Presumably, the first question is: How could this have happened, 45 years after the socialist revolution, how could we get involved in this social stagnation? Without going into more detailed sociological and political analysis, which will, nevertheless, be inevitable tomorrow, if not today, I would like to share some thoughts with you—thoughts that we should willingly, or unwillingly, take into consideration in searching for answers to the open questions and for solutions in trying to achieve a political and economic stabilization.

I.

The serious conclusions and accusations we have so far expressed would remain "suspended in the air," they would trigger political speculations and new tension, if we fail to paint a realistic and truthful picture of the situation in which our economy, our state, and our party are presently involved.

The objective evaluation of the country's socioeconomic state should begin with the statement that the former leadership has left us the legacy of a progressing economic decline:

One: A considerable decrease of the rates of economic growth is emerging.

Taking into consideration the fact that this decrease is proceeding side by side with a rapid increase of our country's domestic and foreign debts, and of inflation, we can conclude that not only has the economic growth been stagnating in recent years, but an alarming regression has even occurred.

Two: Certain drastic disproportions have emerged and are intensifying in the economic sector.

The supply of raw materials for our production has decreased. The share of exhausted production funds is progressively increasing, having reached 40-45 percent by the end of the eighties. Basic national economic balances were disrupted.

The trend of the production of goods lagging behind consumers' demands in terms of quality and quantity has increased. The production of numerous goods in recent years decreased compared with 1980. This was reflected in the people's living standard, above all, and also in the situation of the domestic market.

The growing "gap" between the population's financial resources and the available goods and services is particularly dangerous. The population's financial income during the period after 1980, for example, increased by 54 percent, while commodity funds increased by 39 percent. The population's saving accounts today amount to 25 billion leva, but the available commodities for purchasing are insufficient. The free financial resources are expected to increase by an additional amount of 1.8 billion leva in 1989.

Three. Exceptionally difficult problems have accumulated in the financial sphere. The state budget is burdened with expenditures that are unbearable for a country our size. Many of these expenditures conceal incompetence in management, ineffective investments, poor quality, and badly organized labor. The excessive expenditures of the state and the complicated system of state guarantees caused an annual increase of subsidies, allowances, and premiums amounting to 7 billion leva, which represents one-fourth of the total amount of budget expenditures. As a result of this, the recent annual budgets closed with a great deficit. The state debt to the banks exceeds 10 billion leva, while the annual amount of budget revenues amounted to 26 billion leva in 1988.

All of these problems resulted in an intensification of the inflationary trends. Denying the existence of inflation, as was the practice in the recent past, and, therefore, the absence of reliable levers for controlling it, further accelerated the devaluation of the Bulgarian currency and diminished its purchasing power within the country and abroad.

The sharp increase in our debts in free convertible currency is particularly alarming. The gross debt of our state in convertible currency exceeds \$10 billion. Our gold currency reserves amount to approximately \$13 billion. From the credits granted by foreign countries we shall obtain approximately \$1.5 billion. Under these circumstances the net amount of the country's debt in convertible currency is nearing \$8 billion, which we should consider as a critical limit.

It is a particularly unfavorable situation, since the increase in our debts is accompanied by a decrease in our incomes in convertible currency and by the dependency of our economic and social spheres upon imports along secondary lines [po vtoro napravlenie]. Our gross debts are now considerably exceeding our annual revenues in free convertible currency. The interest we are expected to pay for the debts will amount to \$4 billion to \$4.5 billion within the forthcoming years. Unless we change things, over half of our annual currency revenues shall be spent on paying our debt. The payments are likely to swallow a considerable portion of our national income growth.

We should point out at the same time that our country has paid its debts toward the socialist countries in recent years and our balance of payments with these countries is currently settled.

Four. Generally speaking, however, we can talk about a relative, and in certain cases even absolute, decrease in the effectiveness and competitiveness of the Bulgarian economy. Serious investment shortcomings committed in recent years are the basic reasons for these alarming trends. We should point out at the same time that we are seriously lagging in the technological sector, as regards the quality of our goods and their reliability.

All of this confirms the conclusion that our national economy is living through a period of progressive economic decline.

The important question is: What are the reasons for the negative phenomena that have accumulated?

I would like to recall, in the first place, that the country's present difficulties date back to 15-20 years ago, but they particularly deteriorated in the last 2 5-year-plan periods. Throughout this period, regardless of decisions adopted by party congresses and conferences, the country continued to develop on an extensive basis, under a constantly increasing shortage of manpower and raw material resources. The economy suffered increasingly, which was reflected in the moral and physical exhaustion of basic funds, in the growing share of uncommissioned projects, and in a deterioration of the general effectiveness of production.

As a result of the specific economic situation that emerged following the raw material-energy crisis in 1973-75, the country was able to obtain additional, external sources of growth that made a temporary stimulation of economic development possible. Unfortunately, we did not take full advantage of this opportunity.

The erroneous investments made during that period did not and could not result in a positive economic development. It was in those years, precisely, that large plants were built that to this day have neither brought any profits, nor any foreign exchange advantages, and are just a heavy burden on our economy. We are talking about projects that are maintained at the expense of all our society. The Radomir heavy machine-building plant alone, for example, which is a highly unprofitable enterprise, costs our budget over 1.2 billion leva. The construction of some Ruse plants, the iron-casting plants in Rakowski town, and even the highly praised modernization of the chemical plant in Devnya produced very negative results. The disproportion between the development of final products and the production of raw materials and equipment for the aforementioned plants led to an excessive dependency of the electronic, chemical-pharmaceutical, light industry, machine-building, and other plants, and, therefore, of our entire national economy, upon imports paid with convertible currency.

In talking about economic difficulties, we should also mention the fact that we were unable to adjust to world economic standards in recent years, despite the fact that the general economic situation was rather favorable to us. The difficulties of our CEMA member partners also reflect upon the problems of the Bulgarian economy as a whole.

Considering all this, we cannot help realizing the fact that the main cause of the accumulating distortions in our life and of the current situations of crisis is contained in the very essence and in the mechanisms of the command-administrative government system. It is not a coincidence that practically all socialist countries are facing identical, or similar problems in their economic and social spheres.

Along with this, we should point out the fact that under the conditions existing in our country, the distorting effect of the personal power regime manifested itself with particular strength that caused a great escalation of arbitrary actions and subjectivism in the economic policy to a greater extent than ever existed in the other socialist countries.

Over a long period of time, and especially in recent years, decisions on all basic economic issues were taken by Todor Zhivkov and were often prompted by his casual whims, on the basis of improvised arguments. The excessive centralization of economic power led to unjustified investment decisions, to arbitrarily determined rates of growth in planning, to permanent administrative pressure upon all elements of the economic system, and to the establishment of an economic management apparatus composed of obedient servants. Without underestimating the responsibility of other persons and organs, we would like to point out the great personal responsibility of Comrades Grisha Filipov, Ognyan Doynov, Stoyan Ovcharov, and Petko Danchev.

Such distortions further deteriorated in recent years, when the policy of glossing over the existing facts and postponing the solution of urgent problems by increasing the country's foreign and domestic debts was deliberately promoted. This policy can justifiably be called the policy of "Après nous le deluge." This is what the Bulgarian people have inherited from the former regime as a burden.

Irresponsibility in the economic sphere manifested itself particularly in relations with the government. The government was rendered powerless in recent years, it was deprived of its functions as a result of permanent and unjustified structural and cadres changes. The arbitrary actions also manifested themselves in constant and unreasonable reorganizations, in the absurd practice of constant amendments to normative documents settling the economic processes.

The role of the National Assembly in discussing and solving national economic problems, and in connection with developing our economic legislation, in particular, was totally disregarded.

We can only evaluate the nationalization of the cooperative sector in agriculture and the destruction of the labor-cooperative agricultural farms as an act of most ruthless and irresponsible lack of common sense. This measure resulted in irreparable damages under many aspects.

The establishment of agro-industrial complexes at the beginning of the 70's actually led to the elimination of the cooperative system in the rural areas through bureaucratic methods. This greatly affected the peasants' approach to the land. Numerous villages were erased, being declared settlements without any future while their functions were "reduced."

The main criterion for the evaluation of working achievements was the so-called "average yield per arable land unit." The price at which these successes were achieved did not count. The depopulation of entire areas of the country and the administrative attachment of agro-industrial and industrial-agrarian complexes to a certain type of agricultural production restricted the variety of agricultural crops. Bulgaria, which used to be a traditional exporting country for agricultural goods, was now obliged to annually import potatoes, beans, cabbage, onions, and fodder worth millions of dollars. The intensive migration of the rural population to urban centers caused serious social problems, and what is even worse—it disrupted the structure of the Bulgarian economy by separating it from its natural environmental and climatic conditions, and destroying traditions and a certain type of culture that had existed for centuries. Megalomania and the elimination of small and medium-sized production links most sensitively affected the production of foodstuffs, the trade and public catering sectors, and led to a considerable deterioration of the people's everyday life habits and their way of life.

The numerous experiments of economic reforms in the last decades did not produce any results whatsoever. We should not fail to point out that some of these reforms contained correct intentions and initiatives, nor can we deny the existence of certain efforts aimed at the democratization of economic life. Such attempts at economic reforms during the second half of the 60's and by the end of the 70's did not affect the increasing nationalization of the economy and the personal power regime. For this reason, the practical changes stemming from them were extremely limited and insufficient. The bureaucratic upper crust was afraid that they might affect the monopoly of its power and practically boycotted them. The half-hearted reforms were implemented in an administrative-coercive manner. The newly created economic units, although being seeds of renewal, cannot thrive under the conditions of the hitherto prevailing administrative-command system.

All these approaches in their entirety represented a special feature of the system's economic policy. It was not a policy devoted to mankind, it did not serve human interests. It was motivated by other reasons and incentives. The selfish interest of the "bosses" in the economic

management to flatter the top leadership by fulfilling and overfulfilling plans, by presenting "breakthroughs" and strategic ideas, was profoundly damaging. Prerequisites were created for undermining the traditional virtues of the Bulgarian people and their honest industriousness. Untruthful information was passed on to the "top," while bonuses for silence and complicity were passed on to the lower echelons. All this was a common plot against the people's well-being and interests.

Having seized the steering wheel of distribution in its iron-strong grip, the administrative-command system created opportunities for various deformations of social life. Social, professional, hierarchic, and class privileges were established. The arbitrary methods in handling the mechanism of distribution resulted in opposing various social strata, such as workers and peasants, or workers and the members of the intelligentsia, to each other and in stirring antagonism among them. Such distortions destroyed the people's confidence and prompted their lack of faith and cynical attitudes in many cases. The genuine interest in one's work and the people's sense of duty were often replaced by a consumers' approach to life. Conditions for corruption, for the expansion of a "shadow economy," and for the emergence of all kinds of mafia gangs were created.

The overcentralized mechanism of planning corrupted the natural links between social groups. The contacts among producers and consumers were controlled by the center and did not stimulate a healthy development of the economic and trade sectors. The creation of correcting mechanisms and of self-control mechanisms was obstructed, the establishment of a self-managing civic society was prevented.

Social tension was escalating daily as a result of the increasing foodstuff and mass consumer-goods shortage on the domestic market. Essential goods are totally missing, or in short supply. Difficulties related to obtaining durable and expensive consumer goods, such as television sets, automatic washers, and automobiles also played a role. If we add the shortage of numerous other mass consumer goods and listen to the people's conversations while lining up in front of the stores, we can easily imagine the oppressive psychological atmosphere prevailing in our country.

Even recently, when radical views on the establishment of a socialist market economy and company-based organization were adopted, the exponents of the command-administrative system did not resign. Regardless of the opinions expressed by the government and by various experts, the newly emerging companies were established according to administrative methods—in the form of a propaganda campaign and without the necessary analytical research. Their leaderships were established according to traditional methods. The creation of the companies was taken advantage of for eliminating democracy in the production sector and abolishing the self-management of the labor collectives. Technocratic trends were intensified on this basis, and it would not be

exaggerated to say that some members of the apparatus, including those at the highest level, were afraid of the democratic changes, trying to restrict their effect to a minimum.

Let us not fail to mention an important fact in this connection: The economy based on instructions "from the top," gigantic projects, the absence of sufficient democracy and glasnost, the ignorance and the selfish interests of the administrative-bureaucratic apparatus were about to destroy the beautiful Bulgarian nature. Our fertile fields were soaked with chemical substances, our pure waters were poisoned and blackened by pollution, the air in numerous cities was becoming really hazardous to health. Naturally, external reasons also existed for many of the crucial ecological problems affecting our country. Nevertheless, the main thing is that Bulgaria is suffering from an ecological crisis, and that the struggle against this crisis is very urgent, it should not be postponed for even for one day, not even one hour.

This is how we can describe our country's socioeconomic situation by the end of the 80's in general lines, a situation that we should characterize as a pre-coronary state.

Comrades, Lenin pointed out on several occasions how closely aligned and mutually dependent politics and economics really are. The command-administrative system gravely affected our economy, which is the basis of national existence and social progress in every country, and particularly manifested itself in the activities of the sociopolitical structures.

The state organs became a fiction. The government adopted secondary, administrative decisions, which were not implemented because it had no instruments of control. The parliament mechanically voted on laws, which with the same amazing unanimity were amended, and in most cases were actually repealed by subordinate legal acts.

As a result of the practical merging of party and state organs, the latter were actually deprived of all authority. Their role, functions, and prestige were greatly underestimated. They were separated from the real processes under way in the country, and indifferent formalism increasingly determined their image. A process of the people's real alienation from the organs of power really began.

The public's confidence in the law was also shaken, because legislation was constantly violated by numerous leading figures and institutions. Interference in the activities of law-protecting organs became a constant practice. Internal gaps and "grey zones" expanded within the legal system itself. The weakness of legislation also manifested itself in sad, and sometimes even ridiculous situations, some of which have already been described and clarified by the media.

Numerous political decisions were adopted without a sound legal basis. For this reason, the leaders had frequent recourse to impulsive, imprudent, opportunistic actions, which were in contradiction with numerous legal norms and with the existing facts. The results of such actions are well-known—they produced conflicts, inactivity, and stagnation.

The command-administrative system of society and the gross distortions in administration had a particularly painful effect upon the state of our intellectual sphere. We have evidence of very serious, negative results in this especially important sphere, such as the following:

- gross and incompetent interference in the evaluation of intellectual trends and orientations, as well as in the work of individual creative artists, and in works of science, the arts, and culture;
- widespread dogmatism, formalistic approach, and subjectivism in theoretical and political thinking;
- corruption and unprincipled glorification of certain figures in the intellectual sphere, undeserved and unjustified discrediting of important Bulgarian creative artists and scientists;
- strong pressure for transforming social sciences and scholars in this field into commentators of political events;
- irresponsible neglect of the material-technical base in the intellectual sphere.

In the last 2-3 years, when the manifestations of Todor Zhivkov's personality cult and his preposterous claims in the field of theory escalated to a barely tolerable degree, a direct confrontation erupted between the regime and the majority of our intelligentsia, involving its most talented exponents in various spheres.

We can say that Todor Zhivkov has a great share of personal responsibility for the development and implementation of an inefficient and totally arbitrary policy in the cultural sector in recent years, for the existing tension in relations with the intelligentsia, and for the denigration of its role in the implementation of the restructuring process.

One of our forthcoming tasks is to overcome this tension, to establish conditions for the most extensive participation of the Bulgarian intelligentsia in the process of renewing socialist society in our country, so that it may play its exceptionally important role in this respect, and so that the development of our intellectual culture may be even further promoted. The party has inherited a valuable legacy and established traditions in working with the intelligentsia and highly appreciates its contribution to the intellectual development of socialist Bulgaria. We are convinced that our scientific, engineering-technical, artistic, and cultural intelligentsia shall get even more actively involved in the restructuring process and play its appropriate role among the leading forces for implementing this process in the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

It is our understanding that the further development of the intellectual sphere is impossible without a fundamental restructuring of socialist society in our country. The restructuring process of society is unthinkable without the intelligentsia, without reaching a new level in the development of science, the arts, and culture.

In making our difficult assessment of the past, and trying to learn a lesson for the future from our positions as Communists and citizens, we cannot fail to mention the negative role played in the country's general political and intellectual atmosphere by personalities such as Milko Balev, Dimitur Stoyanov, and Yaroslav Radev. Naturally, these names by no means complete the general picture. The list could go on. There were many other people in leading positions who did not support, but obstructed our progress, and with their behavior, stained the party's name.

Comrades, one of the most difficult truths that we should confess to each other as Communists, is that the party is affected by a grave internal crisis today. I would not like to dwell on this question in detail, but we can say that the situation of the BCP to a considerable extent reflects the state of Bulgarian society as a whole.

It is nothing new for all of us that the majority of primary party organizations and Communists were prevented from their real and full participation in creating party policy and the party's views. An authoritarian style and methods, an over-stagnating centralism prevailed in party life. Unprincipled attitudes emerged in relations among party members, and a psychosis of fear began to develop. The masses of rank-and-file members lost their confidence in the leading organs and in numerous party leaders personally. The confidence of broad people's strata in the party as such was shaken.

We have no reason for pessimism. Our people are working with selfless devotion under BCP leadership. Our people have solved crucial issues in numerous spheres of social development, they proved in their own country that socialism is not a utopia, but a feasible reality. Side by side with all people, the BCP—on the basis of its own tested experience—understood the requirement for a fundamental restructuring and initiated it. The party released a tremendous potential of political and intellectual energy for a comprehensive social renewal.

Yes, appropriate considerations, analysis, and new evaluations are required. Nevertheless, the party's responsibility does not mean indulgence for personal amorality. Whoever is guilty of breaching the law, or harming the people's interests, has to answer for his deeds and shall be subjected to the judgment of society and of the state. We are all, to a certain extent, responsible for the disorientation and the loss of the masses' confidence, and, therefore, we have to devote all our efforts and overcome the crisis in cooperation with the people. The Bulgarian nation's aspirations for a self-managing civic society organized in a law-governed

socialist state are the topical requirements of today. To comply with this requirement is the great obligation of the Bulgarian Communists.

The outcome of the crisis and the beginning of a real restructuring process have nothing in common with the superficial changes we were used to in our recent past. There is even more: We should no longer delude ourselves and others about the fact that the efforts of the party and state are sufficient for overcoming the crisis. The historical turning point cannot be accomplished without the active participation of the workers' class, the working peasants, and the intelligentsia, without the involvement and the unanimous actions of the entire people.

This is our reality today—it is complicated and controversial, but we cannot ignore it. Everything we intend to accomplish for better, or worse, should be initiated on the basis of the existing realities. No one should try to impose new clichés, or create artificial models that are incompatible with the natural trends and processes of development. The ideas of this development can and should stem only from real life. Our people's creative aspirations, encouraged by these ideas, will determine the essence of restructuring and the paths of renewal on which I would like to dwell at this point.

Comrades, the crucial question today is: What should be done?

The whole country, all Communists and non-party members, young and old people, all generations are deeply aware of the fact that the chief means of rescue is to dismantle the administrative-command system and establish a democratic, socialist, and law-governed state. Regardless of all existing difficulties, Bulgaria is facing a historic opportunity today. Our people firmly support restructuring and the Soviet Union supports us. We enjoy the understanding and the sympathy of the international community as a whole. We should by all means take advantage of this opportunity.

The main prerequisite is to achieve a real change, to overcome the crisis situation, to map out correct strategic goals and to implement a fundamental economic and political reform of our comprehensive social life.

We do not intend to delude our public by reassuring them that the changes we intend to accomplish shall be painless. Shocks and collisions are to be expected as possible consequences in the social and economic spheres. However, we have no other alternative except a fundamental transformation aimed at democratic socialism and at the people's well-being, regardless of the difficulties that we, as representatives of the party and of the political leadership, are expected to overcome along this path.

The urgent social and economic problems we are facing make it necessary to implement a package of short-term measures on a priority basis. The goal of these measures is to halt the intensification of negative trends in the economic sector and to create the most urgently required

prerequisites for overcoming the economic crisis. Naturally, the short-term measures in question should not be regarded as an end in themselves. Their substance and the methods of implementing them should be coordinated with and be compatible with our medium-term intentions and goals in the sphere of economic policy.

It is evident that we are not yet through with thoroughly discussing the medium-term and long-term aspects of the question and, besides, the current situation does not permit us to be. Nevertheless, we should already realize the fact that, without a genuine and radical economic reform likely to ensure the final dismantling of the command-administrative system and to put the inexhaustible resources of human inventiveness, initiative, and spirit of enterprise into operation, we shall never overcome the vicious circle of palliative measures and improvisations.

Without going into detail, we shall enumerate the following basic problems that should be resolved as of today in connection with the economic reform:

- We should fully overcome the fundamentally anti-Marxist view on the incompatibility of socialism and the market economy, and resolutely strive for the establishment of a socialist market economy that will guarantee opportunities for a real democratization of economic life and of social life as a whole.
- We should guarantee conditions for a broad and unhindered development of all forms of ownership, including mixed forms, based on the principle that all these forms should be equal before the law and observe the basic postulates on which we are building a new socialist society in Bulgaria.
- We should find the most appropriate forms of guaranteeing the principles of social justice under market-economy conditions by widely applying the positive, practical experience of other countries.
- We should define the optimal correlation between the market independence of economic units, on the one hand, and state planning and control on the other hand, in accordance with our specific circumstances and strategic goals, and this correlation should be asserted in the future primarily through economic methods.
- We should create conditions for the development and intensification of production democracy and the labor collectives' socialist self-management, while strictly observing the principles of self-sufficiency and self-financing.

In dealing with short-term tasks, I would like to point out the importance of a correct choice of priorities that should be based on the 1990 plan. Such priorities, in our opinion, are as follows:

One: Overcoming the current difficulties of the domestic market by optimally increasing the production of goods and services for the population.

As early as within the forthcoming months and all throughout 1990, the government should guarantee additional amounts of basic foodstuffs and mass consumer goods. Through redirecting resources and halting non-priority and ineffective projects, opportunities should be provided for an essential increase in the number of housing units under construction in 1990.

In this connection, priority should be given to the production of mass consumer goods by providing the necessary production means. This presupposes that special emphasis should be laid on the development of agriculture, on production in the food industry and light industry, by concentrating investments and technological, and raw material resources on these branches. The share of capital investments for new equipment and technologies in agriculture should be substantially increased, starting with the basis of the 1990 plan. It is also necessary to accelerate modernization and technological renewal in numerous production plants of the food industry and light industry branches.

The conversion of the defense industry should be stimulated and accelerated for the purpose of producing new goods for the domestic market and improving technological equipment. Our market should be enriched with additional goods worth hundreds of million leva on this basis.

Two: By putting a halt to waste and drastically reducing unjustified expenditures, we should gradually, but without delay, resolve some urgent social problems.

The main question is related to housing, to solving the problems affecting that part of the population whose incomes are below the minimum living standard. The government should submit to the National Assembly a series of special measures for protecting the interests of senior citizens and invalids, measures on improving the material-technical base of the health services, and on solving certain specific and urgent problems related to women and young families.

Particular attention should be devoted to ecological problems, and especially to improving the environment in certain industrial centers affected by a high degree of pollution, to the purity of the soil and of drinking water, to the protection of forests, and so forth.

It is very urgent that a new incomes policy should be developed that will assert social justice; it is necessary to link wages to the final results of labor and to minimize the payment of inflationary, "unearned" remunerations. In this connection, it is exceptionally important to overcome the leveling mentality that has, unfortunately, become an established tradition in our country.

The Politburo thinks that, with the existing imbalance between commodities and demands that is based on the purchasing power of the population, and with the growing amount of free financial resources that are not backed by available commodities, the pressure of claims for higher wages without the production of additional

goods and services can only further exacerbate the crisis. This obliges the state and companies to promote a sensible policy of closely linking wages to final production; it calls for a sensible prices and incomes policy, in order to prevent a double and triple growth in the inflation rate from affecting our country within the forthcoming 1-3 years.

Three: The solution of the market questions, and the general increase in the effectiveness of social production require a fundamental and comprehensive restructuring of production structures.

The Bulgarian economy should return to the existing environmental and climatic conditions, and to the resources available in our country, and give up everything that is not to the benefit of our society.

We propose that the Central Committee submit to the Council of Ministers and to the respective companies the question of a comprehensive technical-economic and socioeconomic evaluation of the existing situation and of the future prospects of totally unprofitable or insufficiently profitable enterprises, which produce poor quality goods or goods that are not in demand. After discussing the situation with experts and with the labor collectives in the relevant enterprises, specific measures for their stabilization should be mapped out, and if this turns out to be impossible, one should consider totally reorganizing them, or closing them down, within a deadline established in advance.

Four: Solving the foreign exchange problem is a crucial priority issue of our economic policy.

The goal that we should envision is to guarantee a substantial increase in currency revenues (an annual amount of \$1 billion, for example) in the forthcoming years. This presupposes that our entire economy should be totally focused on the world markets and that economic conditions should be established that will stimulate a real desire for exports in exchange for convertible currency. We must overcome the narrow-minded approach that exports should be promoted under all circumstances, at the expense of domestic consumers. This attitude should be replaced by the conviction that there is no further development and no future for us without exports.

These issues are inseparably linked to the bolder opening up of our country to foreign investments, to the establishment of joint enterprises and other contemporary forms of international economic cooperation.

Special attention should be devoted to international tourism as a real source of increasing our currency revenues, on the basis of the favorable conditions existing in our country in this respect.

Five: We should adopt energetic and, in certain cases, even drastic measures to stabilize the financial balances and use our financial resources on a nationwide scale, as well as at the level of municipalities and individual

enterprises, for the purpose of achieving the relevant priority goals in the economic sectors.

Our main target should be to eliminate the state budget deficit and to relieve the budget of the enormous redistributive functions in which it is currently involved. We should progressively reduce subsidies, resisting the policy of reviving enterprises and activities that are actually doomed to failure. Only on this basis is it realistic to reduce taxes and ensure conditions for the self-sufficiency and self-financing of the overwhelming majority of the economic units.

We should support the government in its efforts to reduce budget expenditures and promote a policy of strict budget economies. It is correct to reduce to a minimum the state expenditures for the activities of certain social organizations and for representative functions. We can welcome and totally support the government's intentions to substantially reduce expenditures for administrative and management personnel at all levels.

From both the economic and political points of view, it is necessary to devote special attention to agricultural problems.

It is evident that the decisions of the 1989 May plenum on agricultural questions did not provide a comprehensive and complete solution for the urgent problems of this sector. In our view, cooperative property should be the future basic form of ownership in agriculture. It is high time to restore the cooperative labor agricultural farms. Generally speaking, it is now necessary to inspire the cooperatives in all oblasts with a new spirit of revival and to establish communities composed of civilized cooperative farmers, as Lenin said.

It might be correct to preserve the form of state ownership in certain branches of agricultural production and activities by organizing the management on a democratic and economic basis, by breaking the chains of monopolism and creating conditions for an active market competition. We should further develop the land-lease relations much more boldly by expanding the practice of long-term and unlimited land-lease in farming, and also in the animal husbandry sector.

In rejecting the dogmas that caused so much damage to our rural areas, we should categorically assist the peasants in building up individual agricultural farms with the right to land ownership and the available production funds, especially in upland, mountainous, and other neglected areas. The important thing is that all our Bulgarian land should be cultivated with love and care, and that it should produce benefits for the farmers and all our society.

An important prerequisite, not only for economic success, but also for the entire restructuring of the political system and the democratization of social life is the drastic improvement of labor and technological discipline. These last weeks have shown that our nation and

all our working people are becoming increasingly aware of this elementary, but, nonetheless, very important truth. It is the task of the state and economic organs, of all social forces in our country to confirm this awareness, which should become one of the main forces promoting renewal and progress in our country.

The program of practical measures that we are proposing to the party and people does not contain easy solutions. Its success depends on the total involvement of our nation's entire intellectual and working potential. This program requires our intense efforts, and even calls for sacrifices under certain circumstances. Today more than ever before, it is necessary to rally the people and achieve national consent concerning economic tasks of priority importance, as well as on the more specific methods of their implementation. This consent should be based on the awareness that we are all working for Bulgaria's well-being, for its worthy role on the world scene.

Comrades, we have already mentioned the fact that economic restructuring is impossible without restructuring in the political sphere, and vice-versa. The experience of other socialist countries shows that incompatibility in this respect is likely to result in extremely destructive phenomena at the socioeconomic level. In order to promote a successful economic reform, we should build up a modern legal system, without which the economic mechanisms cannot possibly function.

As a first and most important step in this respect, we are facing the task of building up a renewed parliamentary system. It is necessary to establish a real socialist parliament as soon as possible that should embody the people's self-government in the spirit of the best national and democratic traditions. It is necessary to totally and entirely restore the supremacy of the National Assembly, which should assume its responsibility as the builder of a new socialist Bulgaria. Parliament should be the organ to which the State Council and the Council of Ministers should regularly submit their periodical reports, in accordance with their constitutional obligations. Under the leadership of Parliament, and with the participation of the nationwide public and of the administrative system, a radical renewal of the methods of legislative activity should be accomplished and effective control should be exercised over the implementation of the laws adopted by Parliament and over all its other decisions.

We should evaluate the real role of the State Council in our state structure in the context of restoring the natural and legitimate rights of the National Assembly. It is evident that we should resolutely do away with the erroneous practice by which the State Council had become a second legislative organ. Precisely for this reason, the question of whether the existence of the State Council is further expedient under conditions in which there is a permanently acting and working National Assembly should be discussed in the course of preparing the new constitution. The possible establishment of the institution of a head of state should be considered in this connection.

It is exceptionally important for the state administration and for the implementation of our socioeconomic tasks and goals to settle the question of restructuring the Council of Ministers' activities. It is evident that the Council of Ministers should play the role assigned to it by the Constitution.

As a supreme executive and order-issuing organ with general responsibilities, the Council of Ministers should focus its attention on issues of our country's policy. The dismantling of the command-bureaucratic system and the release from the party supervision practiced to date will permit our government to assert its independence and confirm its sense of legitimate responsibility for the country's fate. It is the Politburo's opinion that the compulsively passive and one-sided nature of the Council of Ministers' activities was precisely one of the reasons for the chaotic state of affairs in the administrative, economic, social, and other spheres of national life. How could there be any order and security in the absence of a government exercising its full power?

The most important manifestation of the people's striving for a total renewal is the intensified mobilization [razdvizhvane] of the public, which is assuming increasingly new forms and mass dimensions. The social organizations and movements have been activated and new initiatives, citizens' associations and alliances are emerging. A totally new sociopolitical landscape is appearing, which was absolutely unthinkable in the recent past because of the former, archaic concepts of social life.

The events stemming from this mobilization are growing like an avalanche. It is an undeniable fact that a new party and state policy in relations with social groups and currents is required. This policy cannot be built solely on the basis of our own experience, because such experience does not even exist. It is necessary to adopt a new, global approach that should take into consideration the enhanced role of the human factor. These are phenomena with tremendous potential, and our society should use their accelerated development to its own advantage. We appreciate the patriotic and civic orientation of these social factors.

However, other forces, with different goals and ambitions, appeared at the same time. If they obtain the "freedom" they demand, they would precipitate society into anarchy and tragedy. But we are confident that the Bulgarian people who are sufficiently mature will have the political common sense to prevent our homeland from becoming the victim of such a cataclysm.

Bulgaria's further sociopolitical development is possible only on the basis of the democratization of socialism, which includes the assertion of the principle of pluralism. It is on this basis that we should build up our country's legislative reform in the near future. Its main task should be to accomplish a fundamental renewal of our legislation and to bring it into line with the generally accepted principles and norms of international law upon

which the contemporary civilized society should be built. This reform should promptly and efficiently establish a legal order for rallies, meetings, and demonstrations, for citizens' associations, for the press, for religious observance, and other things. The question of the democratization and humanization of the Penal Code, of penal law, and of the creation of procedural guarantees related to the defense of civil rights, including the guarantee of legal defense from the very beginning of legal and investigation procedures, is very topical.

The party leadership is aware that a difficult problem exists related to the tension that has emerged among certain groups of our population, some of whom left the country in 1989. We all understand that this is a complicated question. For this reason, the Politburo thinks that it would be appropriate for the BCP Central Committee to submit this problem to a thorough and comprehensive analysis, and on this basis propose methods of solving it.

The preparation of legislation on environmental protection and on guaranteeing healthy living and working conditions is already under way.

The work of the Ministry of Internal Affairs organs should also be the subject of substantial changes in the course of the restructuring process. These organs should be relieved of certain inappropriate functions and should concentrate their efforts on defending the constitutional system, national security, and on safeguarding public order and the citizens' rights and freedoms.

Further care should be devoted to consolidating the combat readiness and fighting capacity of the Bulgarian People's Army as a factor in guaranteeing national interests and the country's defense.

The new, law-governed socialist state cannot exist without a new constitution. The draft constitution shall be submitted for nationwide discussion. It should resolve all general issues of the country's and society's life in a new manner, which is also related to questions of political and economic organization, questions of ownership, the question of the agents of power and their prerogatives, the question of the citizens' basic rights, freedoms, and obligations, and the question of guarantees for the implementation of these rights and obligations. In this context, we should evidently also deal with Article 1 of the present Constitution, related to the BCP's leading role. In a democratic society, the role of a given party should not be established as a matter of principle, it should not be determined according to command methods. The role of a party can only result from the people's confidence in it.

Along with the preparation of a new constitution, and even prior to the elaboration of the basic legislative reform package, we should work out and adopt a new Election Law, with an unmistakable and topical political purpose—namely, the purpose of creating conditions for carrying out free and democratic elections. It is an absolutely undeniable fact that the forthcoming elections

that we are proposing should be held in 1990, and should be truly free and democratic.

Comrades, Bulgaria's transformation into a modern, democratic, and law-governed socialist state requires us to persistently adopt new approaches and solutions in international politics. The party's and country's foreign relations also require a certain reassessment.

The profound changes in the socialist countries, especially those in the Soviet Union in the first place, and the cooperation between our parties and states along the path of restructuring are of basic importance for us. We are following with great attention everything that is happening in the Soviet nation. We have always considered all areas of our cooperation and interaction with the Soviet Union to be of equal importance, and we shall always do so. We are also sincerely convinced that friendship between the Bulgarian and Soviet peoples does not need any showing off or artificial embellishments. Our relations should be such as are appropriate for real friends—pure, sincere, and immaculate, at the same time they should be frank and businesslike. The recently concluded visit of our delegation to the USSR and our talks and meetings with M.S. Gorbachev have confirmed this conviction.

We regard our Warsaw Pact and CEMA membership as necessary from the point of view of our national interests, and we shall work together with our allies to increase the constructive contribution of these organizations to international life.

The incipient overcoming of the split in Europe obliges us to make a new self-evaluation of our role as an European state. The intensifying all-European process proposes favorable conditions for our country's participation in the international division of labor and in the exchange of material and intellectual values. Bulgaria has accepted the concept of the common European home without any reservations, and shall pursue its contribution to the construction of this home. This confronts us with the task of decisively intensifying the European trend in our foreign policy.

Bulgaria attaches great importance to its relations with our neighbors, and in our relations with them we intend to pursue an even more enterprising policy of good-neighborliness and cooperation. In addition to guaranteeing the security, understanding, and development of cooperation in their present scope and form, we should consider the further achievement of new positions. We are talking about overcoming the traditional barriers that still obstruct Balkan cooperation and about the mutual rejection of outdated clichés.

We will strictly observe our obligations stemming from the Helsinki and Vienna agreements, in the unmistakable conviction that this is the basis on which we should build our future cooperation with other countries, and we will also work for our own development toward perfection as a law-governed state, as a worthy partner in international relations.

The new political world situation requires that we search for new opportunities for cooperation both with the fraternal parties and with a much wider range of political and social organizations, movements, and forces. The dialogue with them will contribute to building up a world that is free of wars and violence, to the solving of global problems.

Processes on the world scene and the dynamic development of our internal development demand that we should implement an effective, flexible, and useful foreign policy, in accordance with the requirements of our epoch and our nation's vital interests. This should be a policy of wide-open doors to the world, to universal human problems and quests. It should be one of the main prerequisites for the implementation of restructuring and for our transformation into a really progressive and modern state.

Comrades, in the general context of the current changes aimed at sociopolitical restructuring, the restructuring of the BCP is of particular importance. There is even more: We can definitely say that our country's renewal would be impossible without the renewal of the party itself.

What does this mean, what changes should we promptly initiate and consistently implement in our party policy?

In the first place, the BCP should unmistakably and irrevocably renounce the command-administrative methods in its inner-party life, as well as in its relations with the state and society. Once upon a time, the party involved the people in the revolutionary struggle by applying political methods. Through these same methods, the BCP should restore its capacity to lead the people toward socialism and prosperity. Only such methods, based on the solid foundations of a vital Marxism, purged of all deformations, can enhance the party's role as a political vanguard of the people.

The party cannot place its policy on new foundations without doing away with bureaucratic methods and dogmatism in its ranks. This requires, above all, that the higher party organs restore the prerogatives of the primary party organizations, prerogatives that are legitimately theirs, such as: a real participation in policy-making at all levels and in evaluating the results of implementing this policy; autonomy in solving local problems; implementation of overall public control from the basis—control that should be extended to the activities of leading organs and cadres. All this should be reflected in the draft for the new party statute.

The democratization of inner-party life demands a broad expansion of glasnost within the party. The Communists should have access to the documents of oblast and municipal committees, we should do away with inner-party secrecy related to Communists, we should open widely the doors of our party archives, according to universally accepted rules. The party membership card should be only the "pass" to party clubs and institutions.

No democratization within the party whatsoever is possible without a consolidation of the ideological-political, moral, and psychological atmosphere within the party, without the establishment of correct relations between the majority and the minority, whose rights and interests should also be protected. The characteristic features of a party worker should be tolerance for other people's opinions and views, honesty and decency, an ethical approach, comradeship with fellow party members, and general human compassion.

All party activities should be pursued in accordance with the Constitution and the country's legislation. As of now, we should engage in practical work for the separation of party and state functions. This means that we should relieve the party of direct exercise of power and should overcome the practice whereby party organs and organizations directly deal with property, available resources, the material base, and the apparatus, without being legally authorized to do so; the party should be prevented from interfering in the economic, political, and intellectual processes by assuming the role of an institution that is the exponent of the final truth.

The party has every opportunity to actively and directly participate in state administration and to guide the administration on the basis of a legislative, parliamentary system. The party policy will be implemented through the Communists who are elected to and work in Parliament, in the government, and in other public institutions. Therefore, the role of the BCP shall not be undermined but, on the contrary, it shall objectively and truly be enhanced.

Restructuring within the party requires a decisive improvement in the party staff, it demands that the cadres' work should improve to a qualitatively new level. It is necessary to do away with formal criteria in accepting new party members. The personal qualities of the candidate and his sincere readiness to struggle for restructuring and for the future of socialism should be evaluated on a priority basis. We should take advantage of the sociopolitical revival stimulated as a result of the November plenum in order to involve young, energetic, and influential personalities within the party ranks.

We approve the proposals submitted by several party members that the party should distance itself from and be relieved of those leading cadres who have undermined its prestige and did not justify the confidence in them. A drastic change can be accomplished only by people who are profoundly aware of the complexity and gravity of our present situation. Only people who are inspired by a concern for implementing radical changes, not in words, but in deeds, are worthy and capable of leading the creative search in the construction of a modern socialist society. The party statute should prevent family members of high-ranking party leaders from being appointed to responsible posts within the party.

Every party member should be aware that a leading position within the BCP is a question of great trust and

honor, but also of hard work devoted to the people's well-being in the name of the socialist ideal. Never again should a leading party post, especially the position of general secretary, be used for the fulfillment of personal ambitions and other selfish goals. In proposing, on behalf of the Politburo, that the resolution should expressly adopt a paragraph introducing a maximum of two terms of office in leading posts, we would like to add a further clarification indicating that this rule should be adopted as of today, 11 December 1989, and pointing out that the present leadership's term of office will end with the forthcoming congress.

Under the present circumstances, the moral purity and ethical quality of the party cadres are assuming particular importance. These virtues are our legacy from the left-wing socialists who were the founders of our party. We should restore the image of the BCP as a party of virtuous people, of people with high moral and ethical qualities.

Last but not least, we should not forget that unanimity related to the party's strategy and tactics in implementing the revolutionary changes is as necessary as ever. Only a party that is united on the basis of a common program of action, a party that is ideologically and organizationally united, is capable of promoting the policy of rallying the people's masses.

Ideological and organizational unity is the basis for intensifying the Communists' and party organizations' activities, for raising the level of political and organizational work under the conditions of the restructuring process. Our wish to be a decisive factor in consolidating the social forces for the sake of socialist renewal can be implemented only on the basis of the consolidation of our party ranks, only on the basis of our ability to mobilize all rank-and-file members and all generations of our party in the pursuit of the new policy.

These are some of the questions about which the Communists and our public are concerned. They marked the beginning of a partywide discussion on the image and tasks of our party under the new conditions. This discussion is expected to be intensified in the process of preparing the party's political platform, the draft for the new party statute, and the draft documents for the forthcoming large, major party forum. In accordance with the exceptional importance of this moment in the life of the party and country, and taking into consideration the thousands of wishes and recommendations submitted by our party members, the Politburo decided to propose to the plenum that an extraordinary BCP Congress should be convened in the immediate future.

The further development of restructuring demands that basic tasks and goals that the BCP has assumed for the renewal of the political, economic, and intellectual sphere should be discussed. Our party has no right to postpone the timely analysis and solution of the newly emerging problems and situation, it cannot afford to lag behind the course of events. Any delay may prove

disastrous for the fate of socialist society in our country. Such are the lessons that the development of events in some fraternal countries has taught us.

Comrades, I would like to like briefly to sum up the stand of the Politburo on the current political developments and the party's forthcoming tasks.

What happened on 10 November and that which was adopted as our political terminology as the November plenum was by no means the replacement of one personality by another, it was the change of a political line. It is not sufficient to say that this was a turning point. The November plenum marked the beginning of the true restructuring process and of the renewal of socialism in Bulgaria.

We precisely determined the question of dismantling the command-administrative system, something seen as being a relapse into Stalinism that was totally incompatible with the goals and values of socialism. A series of practical measures was adopted to clear the path toward implementing this goal, which is of vital importance for the party and all our society. The total elimination of this corrupt system that subjected the people to backwardness and submission, to isolation from the civilized world, is our topical issue today.

We consider the practical expansion of restructuring to be the urgent implementation of important steps of nationwide importance, and we would like to hope that, as a result of them, the situation in Bulgaria will be totally different as a whole, that the conditions in our country will totally change, and that we will all become better people, more humane, and purified.

One: We propose that the BCP Central Committee decide to convene an extraordinary BCP Congress on 26 March 1989.

Two: We propose that the party submit a proposal to the National Assembly to hold free democratic elections—after the adoption of the new Election Law, but no later than by the end of 1990.

Three: A system of measures aimed at stabilizing the economic situation, at solving the most urgent social problems, and at drastically reducing state expenditures should be discussed on the basis of specific government proposals at the January 1990 session of the National Assembly.

Four: We propose that the newly elected National Assembly discuss and approve the country's new constitution as soon as possible, namely as early as 1990.

Five: We propose, on the basis of the new constitution, that work be initiated on a broad-scope legislative reform to settle the legal basis for all spheres of social life—in the economic, sociopolitical, and intellectual spheres.

Six: We propose that, by the end of 1990, basic laws be adopted on implementing economic reforms including a law on property, a law on the land, and on the use of land.

Seven: We propose that the National Assembly establish a commission, composed of numerous members, in charge of investigating corruption and abuse of power.

Eight: We propose that a permanent and constructive dialogue be initiated with all social forces that have adopted the positions of socialism, that support the law-governed state, and that are inspired by patriotism.

The BCP, in order to be worthy of the legacy of Blagoev and Dimitrov and to fulfill its mission as a universally recognized political force of nationwide importance, should fundamentally change its methods and style of work, it should reject the stagnating form of the past, marked by conditions that have long since become outdated. It is, however, even more important for the party to purge itself of relapses in the old way of thinking and of the conceit of being an elite organization, of the notorious "communist arrogance" that Lenin denounced. Our party should begin to work and live according to the laws of compassion and solidarity, of civic responsibility and public service. A society that is not based on common sense and humanitarianism cannot and should not claim to be attractive for the people.

It is an absolute necessity for the party to adjust to the wavelength of historic and general cultural progress, and to involve all progressive and innovative social forces in its activities and in solving nationwide tasks. Only in this manner will the BCP show that it is up to the standards of a political and intellectual leader in the struggle for renewal, for democratic and humane socialism, as is required by the people at the threshold of the 21st century.

BZNS Rank and File Voice Disagreement

*AU1512155489 Sofia BTA in English
1120 GMT 15 Dec 89*

["About the Future of the Agrarian Party"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 15 (BTA)—Members of the Agrarian Party (BZNS) express in today's issue of ZEMEDEL'SKO ZNAME opinions, proposals, disagreement with the resolutions of the Managing Council of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party about that party's future.

According to some of the opinions, restructuring in the union is taking place quite slowly and in contrast with the people's upsurge. Radical changes are necessary now, as every delay can bring to splits among the Agrarians. Proposals are made for the restoration of the Agrarian Youth Union. It is insisted that the Agrarian Party will turn to a prestigious party-warrant for the revival of the Bulgarian village. Accusations are addressed to Petur Tanchev for his personal responsibility and the present state of the BZNS.

In a signed article in that daily there is an appeal to the newly elected party secretary Angel Dimitrov to take the initiative for a round-table talk with representatives from the opposition agrarian group. It is indicated that only through dialogue and not by confrontation can a united party of the Agrarians be created.

In the published resolution of the Sofia municipal leadership of the BZNS the appeal for struggle for unity of the BZNS is again stressed as most important. The leadership recalls that the split in the period 1919-1947 led to irrevocable victims.

Sofia Agrarian Meeting Proposes New Program

*AU1612190389 Sofia BTA in English
1840 GMT 16 Dec 89*

["Agrarian Alternative"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 16 (BTA)—Today in the Petur Beron Cinema a meeting was held of the Allied Agrarians from the capital and the country at which they exchanged ideas and thoughts about the Agrarian Party renewal and made concrete proposals about changes in its statute and programme.

In the draft programme, a basic aim of the party is said to be the country's building as a democratic country, committed to the rule of law with a highly developed economy and a free people.

The statements stressed the need to unite the actions of all groups. It was stressed that only a strong, united and independent Bulgarian Agrarian Party can unite more democratic forces in the country.

There were demands for resignations of members of the Standing Committee of the BZNS [Bulgarian National Agrarian Union], for a change of the party membership cards and turning the BZNS into an alternative party.

A resolution was adopted to hold a round-table talk of representatives from the various groups among the Allied Agrarians in the country on December 20.

Government Condemns 'Brutal' Romanian Action

*LD2112163289 Prague Domestic Service
in Czech 1600 GMT 21 Dec 89*

[Text] In today's session the federal government acquainted itself with the current developments in Romania and took the following stance:

During the last few days in several Romanian towns, above all in Timisoara, widespread popular demonstrations of dissatisfaction took place against the repressive policy aimed at the people, carried out by the party and state leadership, headed by Nicolae Ceausescu.

The government heard with great indignation news that the justified anger of the people was, and is, being suppressed in a bloody way, without respect for human lives, by the Romanian Army and Security Forces.

The federal government categorically condemns the brutal action against the people of Romania.

This approach is a clear violation of that country's international obligations, especially the commitments under the CSCE Final Act and the final document of the Vienna Follow-Up Meeting, above all in the sphere of human rights.

Equally unacceptable is the decision to close its borders.

The federal government appeals to the Government of the Romanian Socialist Republic, with an urgent request to consistently respect human rights and basic freedoms, and to adopt measures to ensure that there can be no recurrence of such a violent intervention.

The federal government reserves the right to break off diplomatic, economic, cultural and sporting relations, as appropriate.

It has decided to recall the Czechoslovak ambassador from Bucharest to Prague for consultations, and to stop all bilateral negotiations.

It has called on the Romanian ambassador in Prague to leave for Bucharest in order to obtain the necessary information.

The government voices full solidarity with the Romanian people in this very difficult time, and assures them of its unconditional moral and political support.

Slovak Organizations Condemn Romanian Repression

*LD2212014189 Bratislava Domestic Service
in Slovak 1730 GMT 21 Dec 89*

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Rudolf Schuster, chairman of the Slovak National Council, sent a letter to the Romanian ambassador to Czechoslovakia in which he rejected violence and violation of human rights. At the same time he expressed serious concern regarding the fate of the ethnic minority of Slovaks who live and work in Romania.

The Civic Forum and Public Against Violence appealed to the peoples of the world and their governments, political parties, churches, and cultural and humanitarian organizations to join forces in support of the defenseless Romanian people.

The Action Committee of the Slovak Peace Council adopted a resolution on the tragic events in Timisoara in which it condemned the brutal intervention by the security units of the army and called it a gross violation of the principles of peaceful life.

The Secretariat of the Communist Party of Slovakia Committee in Bratislava also issued a statement today on the events in Romania in which it condemned inhuman acts by the armed machinery of the dictatorial regime based on the cult of personality.

Statement on Romania Delivered to UN

*LD2212000789 Prague CTK in English
2114 GMT 21 Dec 89*

[Text] New York Dec 21 (CTK)—Czechoslovak's ambassador to the United Nations Evzen Zapotocky asked U.N. Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar today to publish statements by the Czechoslovak parliament and the Foreign Ministry, condemning brutal actions against the Romanian population, as an official document of the 44th U.N. General Assembly session.

The contents of the statements were conveyed also to U.N. Under-Secretary-General for Human Rights and General Director of the U.N. Office in Geneva Jan Martenson.

Ambassador to Romania Recalled as Protest

*LD2112114589 Prague Domestic Service
in Slovak 1100 GMT 21 Dec 89*

[Text] Romania: President Nicolae Ceausescu declared the state of emergency in Timis region, of which Timisoara is a part.

According to international media estimates the number of victims of recent repressions is about 3,000-4,000. Among them are allegedly more than 30 children.

Contradictory to the facts, the first deputy of the Romanian government, Gheorghe Oprea, has claimed that not even 10 people have died, let alone several thousand.

In connection with the brutal suppression of unrest in Timisoara, Jan Papp, extraordinary and plenipotentiary ambassador of Czechoslovakia in Romania, has been recalled for consultations to Czechoslovakia.

Foreign Ministry Protests Timisoara Actions*LD2112185789 Prague Domestic Service
in Czech 1400 GMT 21 Dec 89*

[Text] A deputy envoy from Romania in Czechoslovakia, Nicolae (?Vulpasin) was invited to the consular section of the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry today.

He was handed a note in which the Ministry of Foreign Affairs demanded, with reference to the provision of the final document of the Vienna follow-up meeting, information concerning the intervention of the Romanian security forces against a demonstration in Timisoara.

The note says that the Czechoslovak public is deeply shocked by the reports of unhumane actions by Romanian authorities. Reports of hundreds of victims resulting from the intervention of the Army and security forces has also evoked great indignation.

The Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs has pointed out that the intervention violated a number of international agreements that Romania signed within the framework of process of Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, including the final document of the Vienna follow-up meeting.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs asked the Romanian side to provide as quickly as possible information on the number of dead and wounded and detailed information about the situation of Romanian citizens of Czech and Slovak origin in this area.

Protest on Violence Given to Romanian Envoy*LD2112204689 Prague Domestic Service
in Czech 1730 GMT 21 Dec 89*

[Text] Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Diensthiir today conveyed to Romanian Ambassador George Homostean a protest from the government against the brutal intervention by Romanian security forces in Timisoara and briefed him on the measures taken by our government in this context. He also gave him a note offering Czechoslovak medical and humanitarian aid.

A convoy of 18 trucks loaded with medical material and food was dispatched from Prague this evening to help the people affected in Romania. The Romanian Red Cross has rejected this aid, and, therefore, it is assumed that the convoy's journey will end at the Hungarian-Romanian border in Arad. In that case, all the equipment will be handed over, and doctors are prepared to operate on site or to transport the injured by air to Czechoslovak hospitals.

Students today unveiled a commemorative plaque in front of the Romanian Embassy building on Nerudova Street in Prague today, symbolizing the events in Timisoara.

The anger of our citizens and their wish to help the victims of the brutal violence in Romania is shown by

the large numbers of phone calls and telegrams arriving at our editorial offices. Unfortunately, we cannot broadcast them all.

Students Rally Against Romanian Events*LD2112221189 Prague Television Service
in Czech 1830 GMT 21 Dec 89*

[Text] A students and citizens rally protesting the current events in the Socialist Republic of Romania started shortly after 1800 at Kampa in Prague. Representatives of the students' strike coordinating committee spoke at the opening of the rally. They read the statement that they handed to the Romanian Embassy in Prague. The representatives of the preparatory committee of the group for assisting Romanian Czechs and Slovaks also read a statement.

Many slogans expressing disagreement with the events in Romania appeared at the rally. An appeal by Czechoslovak students to all students of the world was also read. In a peaceful and solemn rally at Kampa, hundreds of candles were lit to express solidarity with the suffering people of Romania during the demonstration. The students called for lighted candles to be put in windows during the Christmas holidays as a sign of solidarity with the Romanian people's struggle for freedom and human rights.

Civic Forum Protests Situation in Romania*LD2112230589 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
2000 GMT 21 Dec 89*

[Text] Civic Forum and Public Against Violence sharply protested the totalitarian system of Ceausescu's ruling minority, especially the recent massacres.

In a statement sent to news agencies all over the world, the governments of CEMA and Warsaw Pact countries, the EC, the UN Security Council, and the Government of the Romanian Socialist Republic called on the nations of the world and their governments, political parties, churches, cultural and humanitarian organizations, and individuals to show concerted support for the defenseless people of Romania.

Organizations Send Food, Drugs to Romania*LD2112235389 Prague CTK in English
1910 GMT 21 Dec 89*

[Text] Prague Dec 21 (CTK)—A convoy of 18 trucks carrying medicines and food and a crew of sixty persons set out tonight to bring relief to the people of Romania.

The relief was provided by 67 organizations and scores of individuals.

The Romanian Red Cross society has refused aid and the journey is thus expected to end on the Hungarian-Romanian border at Arad where the equipment will be handed over. The first expedition is expected to return home in seven days.

Daily Notes 'Brutal Intervention' in Romania

AU2112151989

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 20 December on pages 1 and 7, under the headline "Brutal Intervention Against Romanian Citizens," carries a 700-word CTK-attributed roundup of correspondents' reports on the "weekend clashes between the Army and demonstrators" in the Romanian city of Timisoara. The individual reports quote Hungarian, Yugoslav, and Western sources on the situation in the city, noting that tanks as well as helicopters had been used against the demonstrators and that Timisoara resembles a "beleaguered city" where corpses are lying on the streets. The death toll is put at "between 300 and 400." The CTK Bucharest correspondent reports that the "unrest" in Timisoara was triggered by the attempt of the "authorities" to take action against Protestant priest Laszlo Tokes, who is described as "a sharp critic of the nationality policy of the Romanian leadership," and that activities in his defense "have turned into a demonstration against the regime." The CTK correspondent notes that the demonstrators included not only ethnic Hungarians but also "Romanian students and workers." He also observes that official Romanian sources have not yet issued a report on the incident.

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 20 December also publishes the 60-word "resolute protest" against the events in Timisoara that has been issued by the CSSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, a 50-word report on a telegram by the Action Committee of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement voicing solidarity with the Romanian demonstrators, and a 60-word report on a telegram that was sent to the Romanian Government by the Committee of the Czechoslovak Public for Human Rights and Humanitarian Cooperation.

Romania in 'Political and Moral Stone Age'

AU2112194389 Prague MLADA FRONTA
in Czech 20 Dec 89 p 5

[Milan Vodicka commentary: "An Oriental Regime and Solution"]

[Text] Reports of the massacre that took place in Romania seem like something out of another barbarian and brutal world. According to the latest information, shooting continued in city streets yesterday. It is already certain that the Romanians have been afflicted with something that a few weeks ago could have threatened us in another form and that—just like the GDR—we managed to avoid. That is, a ruthless and completely crushing intercession by force.

For a long time, Europe has asked whether the Romanian regime belongs to the civilized world. Now it has answered the question itself—not at all.

For a long time, triumphant editorials in Romanian newspapers have served as a source of amusement for foreigners—especially when the reader lets Romanian

reality pass by in a background of Potemkin-like villages—queues for basic foodstuffs, frozen apartments, the personality cult, and light bulbs that can only be switched on for a few hours every day. However, what was once grotesque is now bitter and tragic. After the regime has plundered a once-fertile land and has deprived its people of all their rights, it has now begun to fire at them.

An oriental dictatorship has sought refuge in an oriental solution. Recently, the newspaper SCINTEA depicted the era of Nicolae Ceausescu as the most glorious period in Romanian history. A few weeks ago, delegates at the 14th Romanian Communist Party Congress again called Ceausescu the brilliant leader, the most-beloved son of the nation, and the hero among all the people's heroes. The "brilliant leader" has made a private dominion out of the state and subjects out of its citizens; he has combined unrestrained Stalinist dictatorship with Byzantine despotism in which man and his life do not play any role.

This was not always the case. Years ago, Romania was the spoiled darling of the West when it refused to follow the Brezhnev line, when it did not participate in the invasion of Czechoslovakia, and when it maintained an independent foreign policy. But even before a thaw set in in Eastern Europe, Romania set out in the opposite direction. The country, living for a long time in deliberate self-imposed isolation, has reached the political and moral stone age. For example, it is possible to consider the appeal made this year by Ceausescu to the Warsaw Pact states to intervene in Poland as one of the many indications of this absurd turnaround.

It was clear that the Romanians had to come out onto the streets. The over-heated cauldron has boiled over; the people, frightened after the bloody suppression of the demonstration by Brasov workers 2 years ago, have once again found their courage. However, not only courage is involved because, this time, the driving force was despair, hardship, and hunger.

A month ago, when our velvet-smooth revolution began, everyone enthusiastically seized upon words of support from abroad. Now it is our turn to join the normal world and to support the strongest words possible against such brutal violence. Regardless of "internal affairs" and without fear of interference because these norms only belong to the civilized world where mass murder and cold-blooded massacre have no place.

It is impossible to foretell what will happen next in Romania. It is not clear whether the people will allow themselves to be terrorized once more or whether they will begin to struggle for everything. However, it is obvious that Ceausescu knows what is at stake. After what has happened, his position as a feudal lord and prebends for members of his clan alone will not shield him, for it is clear that a justly unmerciful court would await him. Thus, Romania's future remains deeply unsettled.

Federal Assembly Plans To Meet 28 Dec*LD2112230189 Prague Domestic Service
in Slovak 1400 GMT 21 Dec 89*

[Text] The presidium of the two chambers of the Federal Assembly decided to convene the 19th joint meeting of the Chamber of People and the Chamber of Nations on Thursday 28 December at 1300. On the agenda will be the issues connected with the preparation of presidential elections.

Calfa Disbands Police Investigation Section*LD2112203289 Prague Television Service
in Slovak 1830 GMT 21 Dec 89*

[Text] Federal Premier Marian Calfa and the two first deputy federal premiers, Valtr Komarek and Jan Carnogursky, have suspended the activity of the State Security Police investigation administration, and adopted measures aimed at disbanding its detachments, both in the center and in individual regions of the Republic. The investigation of some particularly serious criminal acts, which has been carried out by this section of the Federal Ministry of the Interior, will be carried out in the future by only a small group of investigators who will be subordinated directly to the deputy federal minister of the interior.

*** Action Committee's Address to CPSL Congress***90EC0162A Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak
18 Dec 89 p 3*

[Report of the CPSL Action Committee; date and place not given—speech by committee member Pavel Bolvansky]

[Excerpts] Honored delegates, comrades, honored guests!

We meet in an unusual sociopolitical situation that continues to be tense. We meet for the first time in circumstances when the Czechoslovak Communist Party ceased to be a constitutionally anchored leading force of our society. We meet after stormy, in many respects dramatic, regional and district conferences of the party.

The current internal political situation is characterized, above all, by a sharp decline in the authority of the Communist Party. The manifestations and consequences of its monopoly on power during the past decades are being publicly criticized. Questions are being posed concerning its responsibility for the rather poor condition of our society in the economic, social, spiritual, and cultural spheres, the environment, etc. We are witnessing blanket expressions of distrust toward party members.

The sharp criticism continues and already, to a certain extent, a breakdown of the existing structures of the organization and management of society is also occurring, not only in the economy but also in the area of

science, education, culture, etc. The pressure by representatives of the civic initiatives for a cadre restructuring of the agencies of state government, economic organizations, scientific, cultural, educational, and other institutions is growing stronger.

The process of differentiation is under way and deepening also in the very ranks of our party members in the ideological, as well as the organizational, sphere. This process is accompanied by a strong wave of criticism addressed at the leading representatives of the party at all levels, at party agencies and the party apparatus. The trend to dismantle party organizations continues; members continue to leave the party councils.

Today it is already clear that the causes and sources of the current deep political and moral crisis of our society, as well as of our party, are long-standing. They are the result of the fact that the social system based on the monopoly of one ruling political party, accompanied by administrative-directive methods of management, failed. That has been borne out not only by the developments in our country, but also by the developments in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

The tragic events of 17 November were only the impulse that released the accumulated dissatisfaction of the students as well as that of the broad spectrum of the population with the existing conditions in our society. We also deem it essential to state in this congress that we unequivocally condemn the brutal intervention of the security units in the peaceful student demonstration. We shall see to it that the party parts company with all those who bear demonstrable personal responsibility for this intervention, as well as for the attack on the participants in the Bratislava demonstration in March of last year. [passage omitted]

Modern Socialism, Result of People's Creative Activity

We are duty-bound to make an unequivocal statement in our congress that we definitely renounce the system of organizing and directing our society that did not develop our capital-goods base sufficiently and did not utilize the real possibilities of developing socialism, which disruptively superimposed the alien structures of Stalinism onto the specific conditions in Czechoslovakia. But we do not have the right or the reason to renounce the end goals of the revolutionary workers' and communist movement that wrote on its escutcheon: Build a humane, socially just society, free from exploitation, by means of a full development of democracy. But we must give up the primitive, in many respects utopian, simplified concepts of socialism. The new, modern face of socialism must be created as a result of combining and utilizing all positive experiences of mankind in organizing the economic, social, political, spiritual-cultural, and moral life of society.

We refuse to follow a given-for-eternity, immutable model of socialism. A concrete picture of modern socialism can be formed only as a result of a historic,

creative activity of the broad strata of people, and not as an artificial transplant into practical life of schemata worked out in advance.

We must take note with all seriousness of the fact that a pluralistic political system is evolving in our society at a rapid rate, in which our party will be only one of the political entities. Its participation in the government and other agencies of the state administration in the future will depend only and solely on the results of universal democratic elections. The party will function in complicated relationships with other political entities. The pluralistic system is not a transitory matter, it creates the essential conditions for maintaining democratic rights and liberties. It is an important barrier to a possible return to totalitarian regimes of governing.

What the Party, Its Program, Should Be

[Passage omitted] On the basis of an analysis of past developments, we consider the fundamental and decisive starting point for solving the mentioned problems to be the realization that, inevitably, the party has to be transformed into a modern leftist party of the European type that will be able to enter the contest of the political forces as an equal partner.

That makes it incumbent on the party to offer attractive, progressive ideas and initiatives to meet the needs of national development that may arise and for satisfying the needs and interests of individual social groups, strata, as well as individuals. That presupposes drawing conclusions for the activities of the renewed party from the fact of the multilateral historical cultural links between the nations and nationalities of Czechoslovakia with European nations. It is also necessary to reevaluate and newly conceive our relations with the individual segments of the international workers' and communist movement, with the leftist-oriented parties and democratic movements in the world. The prevailing principle remains the respect and application of full equality and sovereignty of the Czech and Slovak nations and the nationalities living in our republic. [passage omitted]

In connection with this we are also presenting to our congress a proposal that our press organs PRAVDA and UJ SZO become organs of the Communist Party of Slovakia. Our congress will then have to decide whether the chief editor of these daily newspapers should be elected directly by the congress, or if it should charge the Central Committee of the party to do so.

The Communist Party of Slovakia will, at the same time, create conditions to enable the weekly journal for politics, economy, and culture—NOVE SLOVO—to function independently as a publicist, bring together the intelligentsia of socialist orientation, create space for the interchange of views among various ideological streams, and become a forum for a dialogue and ways for building a socially just, pluralistic society.

The democratization of the internal life of the party also presupposes the freedom of various platforms and the

right of the minority to its own views. The unifying foundation is solely the basic historic goal of the communist movement. We profess Marxism, not as a dogma but as an ideological and methodological starting point.

The existence of a pluralistic political system also presents our party with the urgent task of preparing itself for a productive dialogue and concrete cooperation with other political parties, as well as with structures that are emerging in the form of various civic initiatives. Taking as our starting point the concept of democratic socialism, we shall strive to form a strong grouping of leftist forces as an effective counterweight to possible tendencies to renew capitalist conditions. At the same time, we shall not dismiss the usefulness of differentiated forms of ownership of the means of production. We are for a free development of entrepreneurial initiative, but we shall insist that a balance be guaranteed between increased labor productivity and protection of the social security of the working people.

Purge the Party Without Delay, Learn to Work Independently

[Passage omitted] We are in agreement that an absolutely essential prerequisite for renewing the party's unity of views and action is to make order in our own ranks, to purge the party without delay of people who by their actions, their lifestyle, or their incompetence discredited the party, caused the decline of its authority and the current crisis. The Action Committee took a public position in some specific cases. At the same time it asked the Central Control and Overview Commission of the CPS to review some past cases and also to investigate other cases of breaking the party or government discipline that the public is pointing at. We request such procedures also at the regional and district level.

The second important duty and task that must be resolved without delay is the rehabilitation of all former party members who were unjustly expelled or struck from our ranks. It is essential to renew without bureaucratic foot-dragging the continuity of their membership, so that all who are so determined can take part in our councils. We are of the opinion that we shall speak for all of you when we express also in this forum our regrets that the political and moral rehabilitation of the persecuted party members came so late.

Another serious question that was introduced at the conferences and is still very topical, is the question of the departure of basic party organizations from work places. The Action Committee also took a position on this question, which was publicized. Furthermore, we are of the opinion that since other political groups have been active in the work places, there is no reason for a hasty and uncontrolled departure from the work places, provided that the activity of the party organization limits itself to internal matters of the party and takes place after working hours. The resolution of this matter must be based on an evaluation of the specific situation on site. After all, in a number of instances the atmosphere is not

so acute that the departure of the party organization from the work place would have to be on the agenda of the day. But we also turn from this platform to the federal and national governments, the CSSR Federal Assembly and the Slovak National Council to quickly draft and adopt a law on political parties that should also establish basic rules for the functioning of political parties.

In connection with the functioning of the basic organizations, we must draw attention to another important circumstance. The past days and weeks strikingly underscored that a continued heavy burden, a serious obstacle to the ability of our party organizations to act, is the habit of waiting for advice, circulars, and instructions from above. We must get rid of this habit with dispatch. We must learn to act independently, with initiative, and on the basis of knowledge of local conditions. Without that we shall not move ahead in any significant way.

New Organizational Structure

Also relevant are questions concerning the structure of the party. It is generally requested that it be simplified. In our opinion it is necessary to apply the principle of the closest possible linkage of basic organizations to the Central Committee of the party. The Action Committee of the CPS considered the status of the Communist Party of Slovakia and its agencies from this point of view. We took the position that the Communist Party of Slovakia is an independent component of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, but also functions as a national political force within the conditions of the Slovak Socialist Republic. From that stems the request that the CPS Central Committee should have direct control over the CPS Municipal Committee in Bratislava and the CPS district committees. We consider it correct to have the CPS Central Committee delegate its representatives to the CPCZ Central Committee, its executive agencies and commissions. Naturally, the CPS must coordinate its policies with the policies of the CPCZ.

We consider the continued existence of the district committees to be justified. We think, however, that they should perform a coordinating function, provide qualified information services to the basic organizations, and not involve themselves in direct operational management. The question of keeping or dissolving regional components will have to be solved with regard to the organizational structures of other political parties. However, in no case do we count in the new structure with a regional committee in today's meaning of the term.

In structuring the party we must recognize the fact that not everywhere will the basic organizations be able to function within the concept currently in use. It is apparent from the new concept of the party that it will be useful to also create within the party other structures, for example, discussion clubs, forums, special interest movements, that it will be useful to work with active

Communists, and also allow free associations of Communists uniting laborers, farm workers, and the intelligentsia. That will also obviously create the need to form coordinating committees. To put it briefly, we must prepare ourselves for a greater flexibility, effectiveness, and greater multiplicity of organizational forms. To place the main emphasis not on formal meetings and compulsory schooling, but on a lively, relevant exchange of views and experiences, and purposeful organizational and political work among the masses. The Central Committee of our party should concentrate on solving conceptual questions, on planning the strategy and tactics of the party, on interaction with representatives of the central agencies and other political parties.

A Modest, But That Much More Competent Apparatus

In all the conferences a lack of confidence in the workers of the party apparatus was markedly demonstrated. The criticism of their activities was almost universal. Considering the crisis in which the party finds itself, such atmosphere can be understood. In the future we must proceed with deliberation and differentiate when evaluating individual workers of the apparatus. Nor shall we be able to do without an apparatus in the future. But it will have to be a modest apparatus, armed for the modern times with needed professional knowledge and experience, particularly for funded analytical work, processing of information, testing and evaluating of public opinion, etc. Without that, in the current situation and particularly under the conditions of a pluralistic system and the competition of political forces, we cannot even imagine an effective work by elected party officials. In this connection there surfaces the acute problem of the lack of significant political personalities, experienced professional politicians, without whom a modern, democratically oriented party cannot manage. It is well known that such personalities develop, above all, in the conditions of real everyday political struggles. But it is also well known that their preparation needs a purposeful theoretical education. The Action Committee leans toward the position that experts for professional political activity can be and need to be educated in the future on the basis of the existing state educational system, for example, by means of establishing a special department of sociopolitical science within the framework of the Charles University or the Komensky University. In addition, as is proven by the experiences of other communist and leftist parties, the existence of a special theoretical center of the party is warranted under any circumstances.

The immediate task is to establish contacts with other political parties and various civic initiatives. We must do our part so that all democratic forces, which truly have at heart the development of a modern, humane, socialist society, be of one mind on basic questions. We shall strive for cooperation with those who are for a socially just society, a state governed by law, who reject antihumanistic ideas. We wish to emphasize that it would be a grave political mistake to regard without distinction the various forms of civic initiatives as our enemies. We have the duty to take a differentiated

approach to these initiatives and consider ourselves adherents and direct participants in the positive trends of this movement. [passage omitted]

Our Credo And Program Is Man's Happiness

Comrades, we are entering a struggle to preserve an honorable place and active function for our party under the new conditions of the political life of our republic. Let us not forget even for a moment that we are not doing this for the sake of the party itself; after all, the existence of the party makes sense only to the extent that it expresses and implements the real existing needs and interests of the broad strata of the working people. In the spirit of the progressive traditions of our movement, we want, above all, to express and defend the needs and interests of the working class even in the future, being mindful of the qualitative change of its internal structure and its multilateral linkage to the intelligentsia in the field of science and technology. Together with other political forces, we also wish to articulate and push through the interests of our farmworkers and the intelligentsia. Let us do all we can to gather and utilize in our councils the irreplaceable intellectual capital and, for that reason, open up a large space for the activities of our intelligentsia. We believe in solving the urgent and, in the full sense of the word, justified demands of our women, with special regard for the full appreciation of the social importance of motherhood and family. We further take it as our point of departure that all basic contemporary problems are universal in character and are not the problems of intergenerational disputes. In this spirit we are talking and will talk to our young people, appreciating the moral charge that they brought with their movement into our national life. We think that the movement of the young intelligentsia should keep its own political features.

We unequivocally accept the principle of the priority of universal values in the area of democracy, morality, and culture; on this basis we shall also formulate our relations with our believing fellow citizens.

In spite of the current crisis in the party councils, the fount of our optimism did not dry up. It is in the restorable strength of our party, in all its honest members. The party must fight its way to the forefront of the social movement, not for prestige as an end in itself, but because our credo and program is man's happiness, creation of the most favorable conditions for a fulfilled life for every member of society. In order to accomplish this mission, we must elect such a Central Committee to lead us that will have the trust of the entire membership base.

Comrades, we consider it necessary to say in conclusion a few words about the origin of the CPS Action Committee, about the time constraints and other conditions under which it bore, in the course of a few short days, the burden of preparing the extraordinary congress of the Slovak Communist Party.

The Action Committee numbering 24 members was elected at the plenum of the CPS Central Committee on 6

December 1989 during the evening hours, when under the pressure of internal political developments the already once restructured Presidium and Secretariat resigned.

The Action Committee was composed according to the situation existing at the time and according to the possibilities that could be realized by the end of the plenum.

I would therefore like to sincerely thank all the members of the CPS Action Committee, its apparatus and working groups that shared in the planning of the extraordinary congress for their dedicated work.

*** Czechoslovak Agricultural Party Emerges**

90EC0168C Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
15 Dec 89 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Our Documentation: Program Declaration of the Czechoslovak Agrarian Party]

[Text] Among the parties that are being newly established is the Czechoslovak Agricultural Party. For the information of our readers we are bringing here its program declaration as it was published in the information bulletin No. 1 of the Czechoslovak Agricultural Party:

Cooperative farmers and all others working in branches of the national economy who ensure the supply of food for our people thus far have not had the full rights to influence the management of their workplaces and agriculture as a whole. Nevertheless, by hard work they achieved significant successes, and it is universally agreed that agriculture is the consolidating element of the total national economy.

We would achieve even more if our suggestions and proposals for the management of the national economy and agriculture were taken into consideration to a greater extent. We therefore want all the people to be aware of our views, requirements, and tasks—our program—and know who is responsible for its implementation.

We are submitting to the public a proposal for creating a political representation of all those who ensure the supply of food for the people as well as the forestry production, that is, cooperative farmers, workers on state farms, forestry workers, workers in science, education, services, processing industry, workers who supply agriculturalists with the means of production and all others—particularly the young people—who are interested in sharing in the program of the national development of the agricultural-food and the agricultural-industrial complex.

We therefore propose to establish the Czechoslovak Agricultural Party with these goals as our program:

1. Political Representation

We ask all those working in the agricultural-industrial complex to answer our call and join the newly emerging party of agricultural workers—the Czechoslovak Agricultural Party. We want to defend the just demands of

all—without regard to their work classification, without regard to their nationality, free religious persuasion or former political affiliation. We want them to become equal partners in creating state policies and agricultural policies in particular. Thus far the voice of the agriculturalists has not carried much weight. But it is obvious that in a system of political pluralism, our voice would get lost altogether. If we are to protect our interests, which in the final analysis are the interests of the entire nation, then we must have our own political representation. Without such representation we shall continue to carry no weight in society.

2. Economic System

The farmers know better than anybody that without hard, unrelenting, honest, and purposeful work there can be no prosperity. Our goal is to contribute to the well-being of all who work honestly, to contribute by our work to a permanent economic prosperity of the country. To achieve that goal through honest work by itself is not enough; proper economic conditions in the country must be created. The following must be achieved:

- to be able to establish various types of enterprise with a varied ownership participation (state, cooperative, private, corporate); the same economic rules to apply to all types of enterprise and forms of ownership, and nobody being able to interfere in the internal economy and management of an enterprise or in the dividing of created profits; the farmers to be able to finance their development out of their own resources. Modern enterprises must, therefore, be able to create enough resources by finalizing their production, and through mergers bring even weaker enterprises into the stream of economic growth. Our goal is to supply the market with quality and variety of food products for diverse and, at the same time, fair prices. Some of the top-quality production would be sold for free-market prices, while at the same time a sufficient amount of quality food products for a broad spectrum of consumers would be available for prices controlled by the government. Tax policy should make possible the development of branches that ensure supply of food for the people. Particularly critical is the situation in the food-processing industry. The redistribution of resources at the central agency level does not make it possible to control their utilization. Subsidies for inefficient production cannot be maintained permanently and, therefore, a program with a time limit must be worked out to resolve the situation economically. Even in this area we reject any administrative intervention. Specific proposals for solving this situation can be submitted even today. Agriculturalists should have free access to foreign markets without having to go through intermediaries. Our products are salable on foreign markets and a flexible foreign trade will facilitate the growth of the entire branch that ensures supplies of food for the people. The experiences of some leading enterprises prove that fully.

3. Management System

We reject administrative intervention in the management of enterprises. We reject the allotment system. We demand that agriculture and the entire national economy be directed by means of economic instruments. We want to share in the decisions concerning their creation. The basis for directing the economy is the properly directed supply-and-demand relationship, and a price, tax, and credit system.

4. Financing Development of Agriculture

The financial system is of extraordinary importance for the development of this branch. In order to be able to better and more flexibly utilize financial resources created in the agricultural-industrial complex to develop our national economy, and also to use other resources to that end, we consider it necessary to establish our own agricultural bank.

5. Legal Protection

Agriculture is distributed over a broad area, and workers in agriculture are broken up into small groups. They, therefore, have less opportunity to form associations and solve their problems collectively. That makes their legal protection especially important.

An appropriate legal institution must be created within the framework of the new political grouping that will defend the justified interests of all workers in the agro-industrial complex, regardless of which enterprise they belong to.

In the agricultural sector there are a number of laws, derived legal norms, and procedural rules that slow down agricultural development. The task of the legal institution of the party will be to review the existing laws and on its own initiative submit proposals for changing them so that they would make possible a quick development of agriculture, agricultural industries, and forestry.

6. Agricultural Ecology

The very essence of agricultural work leads to a close relationship with nature and the environment. It is our sincere endeavor to improve the environment, and for that reason we offer a broad cooperation to all who have similar interests. In the past we were not able to apply ecological principles in working the soil, primarily because we were forced to produce at all costs, even to the detriment of the environment. Even today it must be emphasized that protecting the environment is primarily an economic question. We will, therefore, cooperate in the creation of legislative and economic conditions, so that the wish to produce wholesome food and improve the environment becomes a reality.

7. Social Policy

Agriculturalists, as a whole, achieved a very respectable socio-cultural level, and in many respects their standard of living has been equal to other strata of the population.

They definitely live better than most of the farming population in advanced countries. Our goal is not just to maintain this level but to continue improving it.

The road to this goal leads through high labor productivity, modern technology, and well-equipped agricultural production. Every farmer must decide which road he wants to take. We shall defend the interests of all farmers. But at the same time, we know that the law of economics works objectively and cannot be avoided. We know that the key position in the advanced world is held even today by large agro-industrial enterprises. We, too, must therefore support their development. But not at the expense of the farmers. Other enterprises have their place, too, and cooperation among various enterprises can bring good results.

Our goal is an overall economic and social development of agriculturalists and all other strata of the population. To attain that goal we must affiliate, formulate the goals of our program clearly, and find a way to achieve them.

*** Czechoslovak Democratic Initiative Identified**

90EC0168B Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
15 Dec 89 p 4

[Unattributed report: "Our Documentation: Czechoslovak Democratic Initiative"]

[Text] The Czechoslovak Democratic Initiative, as an independent political party, put in a request for registration already on 11 November 1989. Since 19 November it has been functioning as an independent component of the Civic Forum.

It is a liberal democratic party, open to believers as well as to citizens without religious affiliation. It places emphasis on the initiative and activity of a free individual; it supports the initiative of individuals and independent groups in the political, cultural, social, and economic sphere. The idea of any social order, and thus also of the state, is to guarantee to the individual that he can make an impact on the world stage.

The Democratic Initiative strives to create and increase the space for independent entrepreneurship in the area of production, services, and trade. It also wants to resume the traditions of our rural areas, destroyed by collectivization and forced introduction of mass production, and support farmers and their interest groups in all possible ways.

The Czechoslovak Democratic Initiative is based on the Czech democratic traditions, on the political legacy of Palacky, Havlicek, and Masaryk, and in Slovakia on the traditions of Milan Rastislav Stefanik. It understands these traditions as a distinctive realization of the legacy of Christian Europe. Further, it places emphasis on the idea of human rights and liberties, which today are of special relevance. The Czechoslovak Democratic Initiative starts with the concept of a nation as the natural and operative community from which nobody can be excluded. It wants to

include in the work for national renewal, to the greatest extent possible, our compatriots who under political or economic pressure left our country, rehabilitate them fully and enable them to share in the future development of the life of both our nations. It supports the right of those who are unwittingly and sometimes even deliberately oppressed in society, the rights of pensioners, socially weak groups, and national minorities.

The Czechoslovak Democratic Initiative strives for correct and friendly relations of our nations with nations and countries that surround us and to whom we are linked by common traditions, and common values, as well as shared political, economic, and cultural interests. Its program is the reconciliation and cooperation of central European nations, by which it wants to contribute to the creation of a common European home.

*** Social Democratic Party Declaration Detailed**

90EC0168A Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
14 Dec 89 p 4

[Unattributed report: "Our Documentation: Program Declaration of the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party"]

[Text] One of the political parties being newly established or re-established is the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party. To inform our readers and as a documentation, we are publishing here the declaration of its planning committee:

Following the second world war, Czechoslovakia was still among the most advanced democratic countries with a developed economy and a rich cultural life. After 40 years of one-party rule it sank to the level of a backward European country. This sad state of affairs manifests itself in all areas of the life of this nation.

The Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party became one of the first victims of Czechoslovak Stalinism in 1948 and was deprived of any influence on public events. It lost all its property. Social Democrats were constantly suspected and accused of revisionism, and many of them were persecuted.

The Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party does not bear any responsibility for the current critical state of our society and country. It is a party with a clean escutcheon that—since its establishment in 1878—has been tirelessly defending the real interests of blue-collar workers and other working people. It embodies the best traditions of the struggle of our people for social justice and for an advanced, independent Czechoslovak state within the European and world community.

I. Freedom—Social Justice—Democracy Therefore today, too, the restored Czechoslovak Socialist Party will endeavor to realize the basic values of mankind—freedom, social justice, solidarity, and democracy. It will fight to achieve these goals:

- a parliamentary democracy based on a system of multi-party political and the incorporation of Czechoslovakia into the family of European nations, a state governed by law with a democratic legislature and a mechanism for the division and control of power, and with effective guarantees for observing the legal code, social justice, and the opportunity for the free and voluntary exercising of political, economic, social, and cultural rights by every citizen. That includes a full satisfaction of material and spiritual needs of the working people in all areas of life, including ecological and health needs at a level corresponding to current standards; a guarantee of the freedom of the press, scientific research, and artistic creativity; care for young people by society, particularly by preparing them for professions of a high level commensurate with the requirements of today's science and technology; meeting the needs of young families, particularly by alleviating their current burdensome subsistence and housing situation; meeting the needs of women and mothers who are taking care of children; meeting the needs of pensioners and their families and maintaining a realistic value of their pensions under all economic conditions; protecting the dignity of a human being and the solidarity of the working people; a real sovereignty and independence of our country that faithfully observes its international obligations, strives for the rule of law in international contacts and rejects the politics of power and the dictate; continuing the European process of loosening and deepening peaceful cooperation in the economic, social, humanitarian, and ecological field that benefits all nations. The objective will be to promote real Czechoslovak interests, the transformation of the current military groupings into organizations of regional cooperation, substantial disarmament, and withdrawal of foreign troops from European countries. We shall take the road of reducing military expenditures and reducing the length of military service.

II. What Needs to be Done Now to Achieve It?

The guiding principle of social democracy has been and is the linkage of human dignity and economic efficiency leading to collective prosperity. To achieve it we demand:

- an urgent economic reform to improve the efficiency of our economy and modernize the structure of our industry, while fully observing the right to work; the introduction of a mixed economy based on various forms of state, communal, cooperative, and individual ownership in which all economic entities will be guaranteed equal conditions; develop an expanded market, revive the entrepreneurial approach and concentrate the influence of the state on supporting socially desirable programs; push through the dismantling of the insupportable bureaucracy and a radical simplification of state administration and

reduction of its cost; guarantee social security and expand it. We shall insist on removing all social privileges, overcoming—as quickly as possible—the years of workers' alienation from the means of production by a true workers' self-government and an appropriate adjustment of ownership relations; establishing independent trade unions and other special-interest organizations that serve to protect the economic and social interests of the working people; ensuring equal opportunities for everyone in work and in public life on the basis of their true abilities and qualifications and remove the unjustified work and social privileges based solely on party membership; further developing cooperatives and cooperative democracy and reviving the traditions of and respect for craftsmen; distributing public resources equitably and introducing an equitable tax system; ending the polluting of the environment and efficiently correct the existing catastrophic conditions, protect nature and build ecologically efficient industrial plants; markedly improving all health care and bring it to the level of advanced countries, make possible a free choice of doctors, and ensure the wholesomeness of food for all citizens; beginning the depoliticizing of work places, in the first stage immediately dissolve the organizations of political parties in state administration, army and security, and gradually beginning to abolish them also in the production sphere.

III. To Accomplish the Stated Goals

- We fight for a moral renewal of society, for appreciating again the role of the family. We reject the efforts of any organization, party, or social group to achieve a monopoly on power and unjustified privileges. We fight any discrimination for reasons of faith, race, nationality, or health affliction. We support a broader participation of women in the management of economic and public life. To that end, they must have expanded services. We reject the idea that some political party should have its own armed units. We are developing our national traditions that will strengthen national self-confidence. We fight for equality before the law, for a just legal code, for well-constructed and intelligible laws and regulations. All must stem from a new, democratic constitution. We shall enforce remuneration according to work performance. We fight for a modern educational system, worthy of the nation of J.A. Comenius, for increasing the cultural level of our nations, for a material and moral appreciation of teachers' work. Television, radio, and press must not be the monopoly of one party or of the state. We fight not only for the interests of Czechs and Slovaks but also for those of the other nationalities living in our country. We proclaim solidarity with all repressed nations in their struggle for self-determination, economic and social development, and independence. We shall strive for the rehabilitation of citizens who in the past unjustly suffered repression for their convictions or public activities.

IV. What Kind of Party We Wish to Be

Our party is a voluntary political association of people with various ways of thinking and a spiritual freedom, who are bound together by the idea of social democracy. We shall make decisions on the basis of free and open discussions. We fully respect the freedom of conscience. Our association rests on these basic social democratic values: freedom, justice, guarantee of equal opportunity, solidarity and tolerance.

V. Who Will Be Welcome to Our Ranks

Everyone, who out of a political, moral, and general human conviction wants to fight for the implementation of our program; for man's freedom, for parliamentary democracy, the well-being of the working people, for the sovereign rights of our people. We expect all those who together with us are convinced that social democracy will ensure a realistic way to the future of our people in the common European home.

Prague, 5 December 1989

The Planning Commission of the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party:

Slavomir Klaban, chairman; Bretislav Nedbalek, secretary; members Miroslav Brabec, Jiri Cerny, Josef Fencel, Ales Gotmanov, Jiri Marek, Roman Racynski, Vladimir Soukup, Robert Simarke, Milan Veverka, Jaroslav Brada, Petra Buzkova, Miroslav Brydl, Roman Holat, Vaclav Foucek, Olga Kovarova, Eva Kubrova, Vladimir Lesak, Milan Nedbalek, Jiri Olsbauer, Premysl Pirkel, Jarmila Pavlova, Zdenek Slama, Martin Starec, Vladislav Vsetecka, Vaclav Wagner, Vlastimil Zacek, Zdenek Flajzar, Jiri Veselik, Jiri Nohejl, Josef Bieberle, and Alexandr Fanta. The Planning Commission is supported by Prof Dr Jiri Horka, general secretary of the Council for Free Czechoslovakia; Premysl Janyr, secretary of the Social Democratic planning commission in 1968; Prof Dr Radomir Luza, professor of history in New Orleans; Prof Dr Edvard Taborsky, professor at the University of Austin. The names of the Slovak members of the Planning Commission will be announced later.

Government 'Welcomes' Ceausescu Overthrow

*LD2212140389 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1328 GMT 22 Dec 89*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR Government welcomes with satisfaction the overthrow of the Ceausescu regime and the formation of a Front for the Well-Being of the Fatherland, a government statement says this afternoon. Through its determined actions, the Romanian people paved the way for a democratic renewal of society. "We extend our warmest greetings and best wishes to the Romanian people for their successful progress along this path. At the same time we express our profound grief over the numerous victims," the statement says.

The Romanian people can firmly rely on the solidarity and alliance of the GDR Government and people. Firm will is declared to continue and develop friendly relations and all-round cooperation with the Socialist Republic of Romania on new foundations.

Ceausescu Stripped of Karl Marx Order

*LD2212111789 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1100 GMT 22 Dec 89*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR State Council today decided to strip Nicolae Ceausescu of the Karl Marx Order, which was conferred on him by the chairman of the State Council. The State Council found that the massive violations of human rights in Romania demonstrate that a continuation of this award is irreconcilable with the purpose of the highest GDR award.

Groups Call for Protest Against Romania

*LD2112201489 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1458 GMT 21 Dec 89*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The vigil in front of the Romanian Embassy in Berlin and the initiative "Solidarity with Romania," in which several political organizations and associations are represented, addressed the media on Thursday with an appeal. They commit themselves to an "international demonstration against the massacre in Romania—for solidarity with the peoples of Romania."

Friends in Prague, Warsaw, Budapest, Sofia, Moscow and Berlin are called on to participate this coming Saturday at 1400 in an international demonstration "for humanity and peace, against the bloody terror of the rotten Romanian dictatorship, which is oppressing the people with all the means of force." "Light candles, prepare placards, organize chants! Demand that your media render the voices of protest so clearly that they are also heard in Romania," the appeal says.

Nation's Ambassador to Romania Recalled

*LD2112183789 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1356 GMT 21 Dec 89*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR Council of Ministers has received information on the current tragic events in

Romania with great concern and deep consternation. In a statement released today, it condemned decisively the brutal action of the Romanian state power against peaceful citizens demonstrating for the implementation of elementary human rights.

The GDR Council of Ministers calls on the Romanian leadership to halt categorically, without delay, all acts of violence against the population, and to adhere strictly to the internationally recognized human rights documented in the CSCE Final Acts.

The GDR ambassador to Romania, Dr Herbert Plaschke, was called to Berlin to report.

Protest Handed to Romanian Envoy on Events

*LD2112202889 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1230 GMT 21 Dec 89*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—GDR Deputy Foreign Minister Harry Ott on 21 December summoned Romanian Ambassador in the GDR Gheorghe Caranfil to the Foreign Ministry to express the ministry's deep concern with the most recent events in Romania. The GDR learned of the violent action of Romanian armed organs against demonstrating Romanian citizens with consternation, it says further in a press statement of the Foreign Ministry.

There can be no justification for the use of violence, which the GDR resolutely condemns. The Romanian ambassador was called upon to convey the statement of the People's Chamber Presidium and the declarations of will from parties, organizations, movements, and citizens of the GDR to the responsible organs in the Socialist Republic of Romania.

Gerlach, Modrow Welcome Mitterrand for Visit

*LD2012191189 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1740 GMT 20 Dec 89*

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—French President Francois Mitterrand arrived in the GDR this evening on a 3-day visit. He was welcomed at Berlin-Schoenefeld airport by Manfred Gerlach, acting chairman of the GDR Council of State, and GDR Prime Minister Dr Hans Modrow. A formation of the National People's Army accorded the French head of state military honors.

This is the first visit to the GDR by a head of state of one of the victorious Western powers of the World War II. Mitterrand is accompanied by six ministers and leading representatives of the French economy.

Mitterrand's talks with Professor Gerlach, Prime Minister Hans Modrow, and leading representatives of political parties and movements are expected to focus on the present developments in the GDR and the further development of relations between the two countries in various fields.

After the initial political talks immediately after his arrival in Berlin this evening, a visit to Leipzig is

planned for tomorrow. A number of documents will be signed on Friday. [passage omitted]

Talks With Gerlach

*LD2012220589 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 2028 GMT 20 Dec 89*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Immediately after French head of state Francois Mitterrand arrived in Berlin this evening, he began talks with Professor Manfred Gerlach, acting State Council chairman, at the GDR State Council building. At the beginning of the meeting, Prof Gerlach praised Francois Mitterrand's visit as a great event for the GDR. The first visit by a French head of state is taking place at a time when a revolution is taking place in this country in the truest sense of the word.

Francois Mitterrand agreed with this. Precisely because of these events, he saw no reason to postpone his visit. In his view the possibilities for bilateral cooperation have by no means been exhausted.

The talk between Prof Manfred Gerlach and Francois Mitterrand proceeded in a frank and friendly atmosphere, said GDR Ambassador to France Alfred Marter, to press representatives immediately after the meeting. The situation in the GDR has naturally assumed an important place. Prof Gerlach informed his guest in detail about the policies of the government, planned reforms, and possible future developments. Francois Mitterrand has been very interested in this subject and has assessed the events in the GDR as extremely important.

The two heads of state attach great importance to developments in Europe and place the processes in the GDR in a European context. They both agree on stressing the need to promote cooperation between the states and to gradually overcome the division of Europe.

With regard to bilateral relations, the GDR side notes with great satisfaction that Francois Mitterrand personally wants to work for the further expansion of contacts, which are also placed in the European context as a whole.

In his capacity as EC chairman, Francois Mitterrand stressed the EC's readiness to develop cooperation with the GDR. The relevant measures have been stipulated for this. In connection with a trade and cooperation agreement, all necessary decisions have been reached in agreement with the other EC partners. Proceeding from this one can expect a rapid development of relations between the GDR and the EC.

Respect for European Borders

*LD2012230889 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 2106 GMT 20 Dec 89*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—French President Francois Mitterrand called for respect for the postwar borders in Europe in an interview with GDR television. It would be

"very dangerous to call the borders into question where they are at the moment," he stated.

Mitterrand said the German question should be solved in a peaceful and democratic way. It is important that "the two German states have their own thoughts and that they agree as far as possible on what should be done next." A democratic approach is indispensable to this. As a representative of a country that is a "friend of Germany" he wants to create the basis for relations with the GDR comparable to France's relations with the FRG.

President Mitterrand favors accelerating the disarmament process. France welcomes and supports efforts to eliminate chemical weapons. At the same time, Paris expects the superpowers "to agree on a reduction in the various forms of nuclear arms."

Dinner Toasts Exchanged

*LD2012220989 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 2006 GMT 20 Dec 89*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The heads of state of the GDR and France, Professor Manfred Gerlach and Francois Mitterrand, spoke about the future of Europe in peace and cooperation in toasts during a dinner at the State Council building in Berlin this evening. "Europe has a historically unique, irrevocable opportunity to begin a new life and overcome its division," said Prof Gerlach. The GDR wants to make its contribution to European unification with the radical reconstruction of its society, with the irreversible synthesis of democracy, human rights and socialism.

The dinner is attended by public figures from the political, economic and social life of the GDR, and the public figures accompanying the French president on his 3-day visit to the GDR.

Gerlach's Toast at Dinner

*LD2012225689 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 2038 GMT 20 Dec 89*

["Text of the toast of the officiating chairman of the Council of State of the GDR, Professor Dr Manfred Gerlach"—ADN headline]

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—

Dear Mr President!

Dear Madame Mitterrand!

Ladies and gentlemen!

It is with great pleasure that I bid you again Mr President, your wife, and the public figures accompanying you a warm welcome and thank you for your visit.

You have come at a turbulent time of international and national developments that are of truly historical significance for us, for the German Democratic Republic as well as, I think, for Europe in many respects.

Taking place in our country, with its sensitive geostrategic position, there is a process that recalls the impetuous spirit of the great French Revolution of 1789. "Liberty, equality, fraternity" are values that uplift a broad popular movement during comprehensive democratization and peaceful social renewal.

The introduced dynamic restructuring through fundamental reforms in the political system, an all-sided development of the state based on the rule of law, and deep-reaching economic reforms should open up new horizons for all citizens.

For sure, we are only standing at the beginning of this path that we want to tread resolutely, but without haste. The most varied political forces of our country are committed to making the people master of their destiny.

We are aware that this action always has a European dimension as well, which confers on us a high responsibility. The existence and prospering of the GDR as a sovereign state are of fundamental importance for security and stability on our continent.

True to this responsibility, and taking it as a starting point, we intend to act for a European house in which all people live together in freedom and dignity, without mistrust or fear, and approach each other unhindered. Only in this way can we realize our values and ideals and do justice to the obligations emerging on us from our communal responsibility for peace and a good political climate in Europe.

Trust and mutual respect are needed for this, but not a dividing wall that blocks our view and the path to all direct and indirect neighbors. We are acting with this knowledge today.

The world war unleashed by Hitler fascism half a century ago also caused the French people untold suffering. We will never forget that. Following its tradition of peace and its antifascist spirit, the GDR will work resolutely to cross the threshold of a new era without wars, with disarmament.

We wholeheartedly welcome the new opportunities arising since the Malta summit to reduce and eliminate the most terrible weapons systems.

As a country that lies at the center of Europe and at the interface of the two military alliances, our people have a vital and survival interest in reducing the military potential of both alliances to such an extent that any attack capability is eliminated. For this reason, the GDR committedly supports the substantial results from the Vienna negotiations as well as pleads for the inclusion of tactical nuclear weapons and naval forces in disarmament talks. We are willing to tread the path of further reductions in our People's Army while maintaining equality and equal security.

Mr President!

Today new hopeful possibilities to not only fulfill the terms of the CSCE process, but also to extend them to citizens' benefit come about at a breath-taking pace. It is of vital importance to do everything conceivable for this.

We do not want a German, but a European continent that extends from the Atlantic to the Urals. The GDR would like to find its place as a member of a federation of European states, as a sovereign state strongly committed to antifascism, humanism, and a deeply democratic socialism.

We appreciate having you, Mr President, one of those who has paved the way for this pan-European idea, as our guest.

As far as relations between the two German states are concerned, a concept reaching into the future that is aimed at a Europe of cooperative coexistence offers broad scope for a comprehensive expansion of relations in all spheres. Indeed, there are increased opportunities for moving on to a qualitatively new treaty-based community under international law, which from the beginning is embedded in the emerging all-European network. The two German states can, in this way, become two equally important foundation stones, each retaining their own identity, of the undoubtedly large European home.

Mr President!

We note with satisfaction that relations between the German Democratic Republic and the French Republic, marked by mutual regard and respect for realities, have experienced a notable upturn. Your visit introduces a new stage in the productive cooperation between our two states and peoples. The capacities for this exist in the political, economic, ecological, scientific, and cultural sphere. They receive an additional dimension from the cooperation of the GDR with the EC.

All this will open up as yet unknown scope for meetings to be held, and the citizens of our countries to get to know each other.

Europe has a historically unique, irrevocable opportunity to begin a new life and overcome its division.

We in the GDR want to make our contribution to European unity with the radical reconstruction of our society, with the irreversible synthesis of democracy, human rights, and socialism.

Let us, Mr President, advance together to a future that we European can only master jointly.

I ask you to raise your glass with me and to drink to:

- The deepening of the productive relations between the GDR and the French Republic
- A shared peaceful European future
- Your personal well-being, Mr President, that of your wife and all those present.

Mitterrand Dinner Speech

LD2012230389 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 2144 GMT 20 Dec 89

[Text of the toast by the president of the French Republic, Francois Mitterrand—ADN headline]

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Mr State Council chairman, madame:

I am deeply moved at being here with you this evening and to be invited to the GDR at such a point in time. I also am profoundly affected by this encounter with a city that is marked by history and culture and that more than any other city in Europe bears the painful scars of a century that is coming to an end. Berlin—where so many questions, so many hopes converge today. How can we leave unmentioned the contribution of your country—the contribution to European culture, artistic creation, the surge of ideas that has produced the work and the ideas of Bach, Handel, Leibnitz, Lessing, Luther, Nietzsche, and so many other German geniuses, world geniuses.

And how could a Frenchman forget the Edict of Tolerance that opened up Brandenburg for our countrymen over three centuries ago. And how could this Frenchman forget what the philosophy of the Enlightenment owes to Berlin and the Prussia of Frederick the Great.

We know that this intellectual and artistic dynamism has continued through the centuries and the past 40 years. The drama that has so deeply moved the spirits and that led to us asking questions about the future and the identity of the GDR has been transformed. [sentence as received] Thanks to the determination and thanks to the initiative of a few, a comprehensive liberation movement came about, a movement that emerged slowly in the work of writers and in theaters. Who better than an artist to show up the failings of a system that had forgotten for too long that man is subject and not object of the political and economic institution?

I also know about the role of the churches, which have always offered a space for independent thought, which alleviated the moral and collective misery, and which offered a refuge to hope.

Mr State Council chairman, ladies and gentlemen, I have been given the opportunity to come to you at a time when you are experiencing a radical change, the speed and maturity of which is impressing the whole world. From France we have followed the great moments that have carried your people along with them, the emotion in the churches, the crowds in Berlin, Dresden, Leipzig and so on, the seriousness and the hope of those who spoke and those who listened to them, the walls that opened, the spiritual barriers that fell.

Two hundred years on it seemed to us that the elan that issued from the depths of your people corresponded to the elan that lifted up our people in 1789 and that went around the world. Here I would like to pay tribute to those who expressed these strivings. I also want to pay tribute to those

who allowed these strivings to be expressed and to those who realized that moral and political violence cannot stop history. It is normal and certainly necessary that such a comprehensive debate about the present and the future is now taking place among you. It is normal that you want to preserve your own values on this basis, in that you link them with a democratic renewal that you are now undertaking on the foundation of what, at the time, I called this talisman that changes everything and that bears the name freedom.

You can count on France's solidarity toward the GDR in this difficult search. A solidarity that has arisen, certainly under different conditions, but on a solid basis with the FRG since the end of World War II. And as I have just mentioned these two states, I would like to address the emotion that has seized the German people who are living in harmony on both sides of the Elbe. The effort for unity has roots reaching far back into history and is becoming topical again.

First of all it is the business of those who have a common culture, a common language, centuries of common history. I mean first of all it is a matter of the Germans, who should freely determine what their fate should be. The democratic path is the only that is open, democratic and peaceful, for it is also the business of your neighbors who are trying to maintain peace together with the European balance, which has reigned on our continent for the past decades.

With these words I am thinking of adherence to the agreements and treaties. I am above all thinking of the inviolability of frontiers, such a valuable basic principle, that it was anchored in the Helsinki Final Act 14 years ago. This reference to security and cooperation in Europe, whose initiators were far-sighted and clear-sighted, is based on the thought that no country should impose its political system on another. But this is based on the thought that stability of the frontiers on a continent, which has experienced so many storms, is an indispensable prerequisite for trust. And the very success of the Helsinki process leads us to think about the way in which we want to shape a Europe that has changed greatly within 15 years.

We have the opportunity to move even closer together. We have more chance of entering the 21st century with determination than calling up the ghosts of the 19th century. A summit meeting of the 35 countries of the CSCE process in 1990 would help us in this and I would be glad if it were possible to hold the conference in Paris.

However, even before it came to the CSCE, there was another declaration of belief in 1957: This was the signing of the Treaty of Rome by six European countries. It was the birth of a community. I say declaration of belief because it was something quite different from a trade treaty. It was a case of building the foundations of a political Europe capable of uniting its strengths, and here the dynamism that comes from good ideas has also been at work. The European Economic Community has profited from this. It went from 6 to 9, then to 10 and 12 member-countries.

The coming into force of the Single Act, the disappearance and elimination of internal borders and then the social charter that we have adopted in Strasbourg to build up the monetary union, will strengthen their cohesion and scope for action. The first mission of the community is to unite our peoples. History and natural divergencies have not allowed this for more than 30 years, at least not with the so-called Eastern countries, but now this is possible. We must also respond to those who count on the community and speed up their economic development, so that democracy can gain a foothold and dynamic progress thereby takes place while preserving their independence.

And through this the movement that the German people have started in the direction of its unity will develop both through the strengthening of the community and also through the drawing closer of the parts of Europe that yesterday were still separated. I have noted with the greatest attention Prime Minister Hans Modrow's idea of a treaty-based community between the two German states—a proposal that has been taken up by other responsible persons here and there.

This beginning is a pragmatic way of seeing developments. There are also other plans, other projects. In the Federal Republic you have a natural partner, and other countries and—above all my country—also the whole of the European Community, are prepared to help speed up your development. The GDR and France have a lot more to look forward to, even though we can already welcome the progress that our exchange and the successes of cultural action have brought, especially through the Cultural Center in Berlin.

I expect that the ministers and members of the French delegation will use this trip to develop youth exchange, to redouble efforts for environmental protection and to spread the French language, all of which will be the subject of agreements at the end of this visit. The industrialists and bankers who are accompanying me will certainly find in the economic cooperation and in the new legislation that favors joint ventures additional reasons to invest in your country and to set up a series of joint ventures. As far as the European Community is concerned, it decided in Strasbourg to bring the negotiations on a trade and cooperation agreement to a good conclusion within 6 months.

And I would like to say more precisely that the decision to hold these talks was taken yesterday evening. If it wants to, the GDR will have access to the same extent to the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, on which I took the initiative. This is also true of the education and training programs that emanate from the community.

We intend to continue in this spirit. We remain there for you as well as for the examination of any agreement that might appear useful both to your country and our mutual interests.

Mr chairman of the Council of State!

The people of the GDR have created an unusual and extraordinary event. This event unleashed joy and enthusiasm throughout the entire world. It has also unsettled because the unpredicted always unsettles. But I myself am not one of those who is afraid of history in the process of being made. The message that I have come to bring you is a message of France's friendship for the German people, the entire German people. It is also a message of confidence in this people's maturity, both in the East and the West. It is also a message of solidarity, for we have the will to build a peaceful, open, and free Europe together.

Mr chairman of the Council of State!

I raise my glass to the well-being of the GDR, and in accordance with tradition to your personal health, to the health of all those close to you, and to the happiness of the German people.

Relations Discussed

*LD2112190489 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 0924 GMT 21 Dec 89*

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—The joint responsibility for the balance in Europe was at the center of Thursday morning's meeting between the French head of state, Francois Mitterrand, and GDR Prime Minister Hans Modrow. Over breakfast at the Berlin Palast Hotel, where the guest is staying, the two politicians discussed the possibilities to expand bilateral relations, in the presence of Foreign Ministers Oskar Fischer and Roland Dumas. A broad spectrum of questions was touched on, Hans Modrow said afterward to journalists from home and abroad. It ranged from permanent political contacts to economic cooperation. The GDR would have to prepare itself for new forms of cooperation by legislating means.

The GDR prime minister expressed the expectation that the negotiations on a trade and cooperation agreement with the European community will now also advance. His message to Francois Mitterrand, the present EC president, has been received positively. [passage omitted]

Mitterrand Talks to Students

*LD2112200589 Hamburg DPA in German
1408 GMT 21 Dec 89*

[Excerpt] Leipzig (DPA)—During his visit to the GDR, French head of state Francois Mitterrand clearly underlined that France will not object to reunification if the Germans wish this as a result of a democratic decision. In front of about 1,000 students of the Karl-Marx-University in Leipzig on 21 December, he pointed to the "realities in Europe," the borders, and Germany's neighbors as well. But he made it clear "that the border between the two German states is a special border" that runs between a people.

Mitterrand spoke on the second day of this state visit on the topic of reunification without having been asked directly about it. "It is only through free, open, and

democratic elections that one can know what the Germans on both sides want," the president said, and added: "France will not object to this."

The almost 100 students in the overcrowded lecture hall gave him an enthusiastic welcome. Several hundred students, who were chanting and demanding to be let in, only entered the hall following a generous gesture from Mitterrand. Mitterrand stressed that the German question was at the same time "the neighbors' business" and pointed to the need for European integration. "The German problem is also a European problem." Mitterrand received long applause when he demanded that no one and no country may force its will on another. At the same time he spoke in favor of economic aid for the GDR. "France is on the side of the German people."

Following the discussion with the students, who asked, above all, for concrete aid for the GDR and particularly for the universities, Mitterrand met for a talk with the principal conductor of the Gewandhaus orchestra, Kurt Masur. [passage omitted]

Modrow Comments on Talks

LD2112215389 East Berlin Television Service
in German 1830 GMT 21 Dec 89

[Interview with Prime Minister Hans Modrow by unidentified correspondent on 21 December; place not given; from the "Aktuelle Kamera" newscast—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] Mr Prime Minister, which was the most important topic of your talks with French President Mitterrand?

[Modrow] It was the common responsibility for maintaining a balance for the purpose of securing peace in Europe. That is what we agreed upon—that is currently the actual key issue that Europe expects both German states to meet.

[Correspondent] Which bilateral topics were broached?

[Modrow] A wide spectrum is under discussion, for example, permanent political contacts maintained by both foreign ministers in order to have contacts over all political issues and mutual interests. Many questions of economic cooperation have been discussed, as was said only yesterday. The president has a great interest in youth tourism. Such things will also develop and be promoted.

[Correspondent] Did you discuss the trade and cooperation agreement with the EC?

[Modrow] That was also a topic. During his term of office as EC president, the president had received a message sent by me that, I think, helped bring such problems to wide discussion within the EC. We are in accord about that. The president stated that he anticipated a constructive continuation now that other EC presidents are in charge.

Mitterrand Hosts Reception

LD2112221989 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1838 GMT 21 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—French President Francois Mitterrand gave a reception this evening in the congress center of the Berlin Palace Hotel in honor of the acting chairman of the GDR Council of State, Professor Dr Manfred Gerlach. Premier Dr Hans Modrow and Dr Guenther Maleuda, president of the People's Chamber, were present. About 1,000 prominent GDR social figures also accepted invitations from the French head of state.

Gysi Describes Talks

LD2112221489 East Berlin Domestic Service
in German 2110 GMT 21 Dec 89

[Text] [Announcer] Agreements between the GDR and France were signed this evening in Berlin. Shortly afterward, the doors to the banquet in the congress center in the Palace Hotel opened. Among the guests of the French President during the banquet this evening was SED-PDS [Socialist Unity Party of Germany - Party of Democratic Socialism] Chairman Gregor Gysi. Mitterrand had previously had a lively discussion with him. Wieland Lieber had the opportunity to speak to the party chairman about the meeting.

[Begin recording] [Gysi] The talks with the French president lasted for 80 minutes, considerably longer than planned. During our meeting we fully discussed relations between France and the GDR, questions of stability in Europe, border questions, and, of course, demands that are being raised for a unification of the two German states and the dangers that uncontrolled processes could, in this way, produce for Europe. Then we talked about the economic situation, and we also spoke briefly about the relations between the Socialist Party of France and the SED-PDS. He told me a lot about his experiences this century. He also described to me the situation before World War I, so that I can perhaps recognize and see certain dangers more clearly. I would say we quickly understood each other very well.

He also stated that he would be very pleased to see me and to talk to me in Paris at any time. We are also interested in expanding relations between the two parties. He is pleasantly surprised by the visit and the way that he has been received by our citizens. France is also prepared for far-reaching economic cooperation, so that from my point of view I can only say that on the questions discussed, we had—in fact—the same opinions. I also tried to give him an analysis of the situation in the SED-PDS, and in the country, and I also told him how the change was achieved. We spoke in a friendly way and also roamed a little through the whole of world politics—from the Soviet Union to the Federal Republic and to other countries—with the result that I at least [words indistinct] am very satisfied, for it has become quite clear to me that our problems are not only being

understood well by many people in our country, but also by such significant politicians as the French president.

[Lieber] May I briefly dig a bit deeper on the question of the unification of the two German states. What did he say on that?

[Gysi] Well, I would prefer to allow him to speak for himself. In any case, we were in agreement that nothing must happen that could endanger stability in Europe, and that it is a question of searching for a solution for this question within a European framework, and not through any kind of nationalist special paths.

[Lieber] Many thanks. [end recording]

Foreign Minister of France Visits for Talks

LD2012215389 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 2045 GMT 20 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The foreign ministers of the GDR and the French Republic, Oskar Fischer and Roland Dumas, respectively, discussed the further development of bilateral cooperation between the two countries on Wednesday evening in Berlin. Both politicians viewed their five meetings to date since the beginning of the year as an example that dialogue between the GDR and France is functioning well. There is, they agreed, an outstanding foundation for the further expansion of relations in their entire breadth.

The subjects of the discussions were inter alia questions of economic, scientific-technical, and cultural cooperation as well as tourism and youth exchange.

French Senator Poncet Discusses Relations

AU1812122589 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 14 Dec 89 p 1

[ND report: "GDR-French Relations Will Have a Great Future"]

[Text] Berlin—Problems related to current developments in the GDR and relations between our republic and France were the focus of talks for which Prime Minister Hans Modrow received Jean Francois Poncet, the former French foreign minister and present chairman of the French Senate Economic Committee, on Wednesday [13 December].

The politician told NEUES DEUTSCHLAND that the developments in the GDR's neighboring countries were also discussed. He said he was interested in and impressed by the immense changes that have taken place, as compared to former times that he remembered well.

Asked about the state of bilateral relations in connection with President Mitterrand's forthcoming visit, Poncet said: "They will have a great future." He said that France was following the process of restructuring very closely. He said that it was important to release the brakes of bureaucratic structures that decelerate growth. He said that the relationship of both countries' economies would

develop to the extent that growth structures were forming. He said that, in his view, there was every reason to assume that the development for which the French side was hoping would occur.

Brandenburg Gate Pedestrian Crossing To Open

LD2112171889 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1203 GMT 21 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The pedestrian crossing at the Brandenburger Gate [Tor] in Berlin will be opened on Friday at 1500. The Government Press and Information Office says that the Berlin chief mayor, Erhard Krack, and the governing mayor of Berlin (West), Walter Momper, will undertake the opening. Also present will be Premier Hans Modrow and Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl, and other public figures.

ADN learned from the location that the crossings will be created to the right and left of the square in front of the Brandenburger Gate. The necessary construction work is due to begin today at 2300, when individual pieces will be taken from the wall.

In order to guarantee rapid progress of the work, access to the area—barred to date to visitors—will not be possible before the opening of the crossing point.

Defense Minister Approves Total Disarmament

LD2112185989 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1324 GMT 21 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—GDR Defense Minister Admiral Theodor Hoffmann has announced his approval in principle of total disarmament in the GDR. This emerges from a press interview by the minister with the *NORD-DEUTSCHE NEUESTE NACHRICHTEN*, in which the initiators of the Appeal of The 89, a disarmament initiative set up by 89 public figures in the GDR, also participated.

In contrast to the representatives of the Appeal of The 89, who, given the ecological, economic and technical conditions in Europe, consider all military action, even for defense purposes, to be an act of self-destruction, the defense minister did not, however, endorse a unilateral prior concession by the GDR. Hoffmann stressed the concept of a gradual bilateral reduction of the armed forces of both systems on the basis of equal security, which can ultimately lead to the same goal.

FRG, GDR Banks Sign Foreign Exchange Fund

LD2112234289 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1827 GMT 21 Dec 89

[Text] Frankfurt/Main (ADN)—The FRG Bundesbank and the GDR State Bank today sealed an agreement in Frankfurt/Main on the foreign exchange fund for travel, which GDR citizens will be able to use to exchange money into DM for travel to the West. The agreement

was signed by managing board member Guenter Storch, and deputy president of the State Bank, Bruno Meier.

At the same time the Federal Treasury and the GDR Government made available the cash resources for an initial allocation of DM to the fund.

Silent March in Erfurt for Stalin's Victims

LD2112234489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1810 GMT 21 Dec 89

[Text] Erfurt (ADN)—After prayers for peace in Erfurt churches this evening, thousands of citizens remembered the victims of Stalinism with a silent march through the town center.

The demonstrators carried banners proclaiming their solidarity with the Romanian people. Candles were placed on the steps of the cathedral in memory of the dead of Timisoara.

The church and new parties gave information about their concerns on hand bills. The demonstration in the Thuringian Bezirk [Area] town ended with the ringing of the bells of the cathedral and St Severus' Church.

Decree Issued on Travel to, Through Country

LD2112173489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1401 GMT 21 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The text of the decree on travel by citizens of the FRG, and persons with permanent residence in Berlin (West), to and through the GDR is as follows:

Decree on travel by citizens of the Federal Republic of Germany and persons with permanent residence in Berlin (West) to and through the GDR—December 21 1989

The following is proscribed for travel by citizens of the Federal Republic of Germany and persons with permanent residence in Berlin (West) for travel to and through the GDR:

Article 1

Travel by citizens of the FRG and persons with permanent residence in Berlin (West) to and through the GDR will be allowed without visas.

Article 2

(1) The following valid official personal documents allow visa-free crossing of the GDR state border:

- For citizens of the FRG a diplomatic, ministerial, official or travel passport of the FRG,
- for persons with permanent residence in Berlin (West) a "Temporary Identity Card" or "Provisional Temporary Identity Card," or another properly issued Berlin (West) identity document.

(2) Children can also cross the GDR state border if they are entered in the official personal documents named in Paragraph 1, or if they identify themselves with a child's identity card of the FRG or a child's photograph endorsed by Berlin (West).

(3) Seamen can travel visa-free by land or air to the sea ports of the GDR and other states if they are in possession of a seaman's registration book.

(4) If the official identity documents named in Articles 1 and 2 are not presented, then entry or transit can be allowed with a confirmation of identity and visa issued by the border control organs of the GDR if the identity is established beyond doubt by means of other official personal documents.

Article 3

For statistical purposes, tally cards will be issued and should be handed in when leaving the country.

Article 4

The regulations in Article 1 do not restrict the right of the GDR to refuse entry to and transit through its sovereign territory to undesirable persons, nor to withdraw from such persons permission to stay.

The relevant grounds for refusing entry or transit will be communicated verbally to those affected, and in writing in the case of withdrawal of permission to stay.

Article 5

(1) This decree comes into force on 24 December 1989.

(2) At the same time, the decree of 17 October 1972 on travel by citizens of the FRG to the GDR (Legal Gazette II, No. 61, p 654) in the version of Decree No. 2 of 14 June 1973 (Legal Gazette I, No. 28, p 269) and of Decree No. 4 of 20 February 1989 (Legal Gazette I, No. 8, p 119) is no longer in force.

Decree Issued on Duty To Register for Travel

LD2112164189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1410 GMT 21 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The decree on the fulfillment of the duty to register has the following text:

The following stipulations apply on the basis of Articles 2, 4 and 29 of the decree of 15 July 1965 on the duty to register in the German Democratic Republic—Registration Ruling—in the revised law of 10 June 1981 (Legal Gazette I No. 23 p 262):

Article 1

The duty to register on the basis of Article 10 of the Registration Ruling can also be completed at the registration office of the German People's Police competent for the place of residence.

Article 2

1. Citizens of the German Democratic Republic who are permanently domiciled abroad, citizens of the Federal Republic of Germany and persons with permanent residence in Berlin (West) and citizens of states with which the GDR has agreed on visa-free entry for all passport categories (cf. appendix), who enter the German Democratic Republic for a visit of up to 30 days.

2. Foreigners requiring visas who enter the German Democratic Republic for a 1-day visit without an overnight stay.

3. Air personnel and seamen of other states who enter the German Democratic Republic for a 1-day visit without an overnight stay.

4. Citizens of North European states who enter the GDR for up to 2 days in Ruegen District and the towns of Bad Doberan, Greifswald, Rostock, Schwerin, Stralsund and Wismar.

5. Foreigners requiring visas who enter the German Democratic Republic for up to 2 days for the purpose of freight transport or other reasons related to their jobs.

6. Persons traveling through the German Democratic Republic in transit without an overnight stay.

(2) Exemption from the duty to register in accordance with Paragraph 1, Clauses 1, 4 and 5 does not apply to compliance with the duty to register in accordance with Article 17 to 19 of the Registration Ruling, and that exemption from the duty to register in accordance with Paragraph 1, Clause 1 does not apply to registration in the list of house occupants required under Article 15 of the Registration Ruling.

Article 3

(1) In the accommodation of tourist groups, the members of which are citizens of states listed in the appendix, only the courier is obliged to register with an accommodation registration form. The number of participants must be indicated on the courier's accommodation registration form.

(2) In the accommodation of tourist groups from countries other than those listed in the appendix and from West Berlin, instead of the accommodation registration form to be filled out in accordance with Article 18 of the registration ruling, lists can be used, containing all of the information from the accommodation registration form.

(3) The keeping of the guest registry as laid down by Article 19 of the registration ruling, must be kept for tourist groups in accordance with the principles of Paragraphs 1 and 2.

Article 4 [subhead]

(1) This decree enters into force on 24 December 1989.

(2) At the same time the following are annulled:

a) Decree of 3 December 1987 on fulfillment of the duty to register (Legal Gazette I No. 29 p 282),

b) Decree No. 2 of 28 August 1989 on the fulfillment of the duty to register (Legal Gazette I No. 16 p 201).

Berlin, 21 December 1989

Internal Affairs Minister

Ahrendt

Appendix to above decree

Countries under Article 2 Paragraph 1 Clause 1 of the decree

People's Republic of Bulgaria

Republic of Finland

Republic of Cuba

Mongolian People's Republic

Polish People's Republic

Socialist Republic of Romania

Czechoslovak Socialist Republic

Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

Hungarian People's Republic

More Reaction to Violent Events in Romania

Officials Give Briefing

LD2112133189 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 0950 GMT 21 Dec 89

[News conference with Foreign Minister Gyula Horn, and National Assembly deputies Andras Farago, Janos Berecz, and Antal Reger during a break in the National Assembly proceedings—live]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Reporter] Gyula Horn has leave to speak:

[Horn] Since midday yesterday, we have been in constant touch with New York, our UN Mission. We have instructed our UN ambassador to establish contact with the responsible officials of the Security Council and the representatives of other countries because, on the one hand, the outrage of world public opinion is constantly increasing regarding the bloody events in Romania, and, as a consequence, this threatens world security, particularly here in Europe.

Several countries in the West, too, have expressed the view that the Romanian events are the most serious since the signing of the 1975 Helsinki Final Act. On the basis of all this we have ordered our ambassador in New York to address a letter to the chairman of the Security Council in which we ask the following, after setting out our stance in respect of the Romanian developments:

First, we ask that the chairman of the Security Council issue a call to the Romanian authorities to respect human rights and the fundamental right to freedom and that the Romanian Government fulfill its international obligations in this regard.

Second, the chairman should examine the possibility of convening the Council on this affair.

Regarding what follows, I would only like to inform you that yesterday, late in the evening, the Romanian foreign minister summoned our Bucharest charge d'affaires and, on behalf of the Romanian leadership, the Romanian authorities, he asked him to pass on to the Hungarian National Assembly, the Hungarian Government, and the Hungarian foreign minister, the essence of the Romanian leadership's stand, which is that all the events have been organized from outside.

The aim of what has been organized was to breach the independence of Romania, to break up its territorial unity, and to destabilize the situation in the country. President Ceausescu has named Budapest as the capital from which the Romanian events are inspired, urged—it may be said—directed. The [Romanian] foreign minister demanded that no one interfere and that demonstrations in front of the Romanian Embassy in Budapest stop.

Our charge d'affaires has rejected [visszautasította] these charges and asked for the fulfillment of the demands formulated by the Hungarian Government yesterday. I

would like to emphasize in this regard something which you, too, are likely to know, and which I already mentioned yesterday—that at the meeting of the Vienna Follow-up Conference of European Security and Cooperation the consultation, almost without exception, dealt with, and deeply condemned, the Romanian events and brutalities.

Among the delegations, even the heads of the Soviet, Polish, Czechoslovak, and Bulgarian delegations, demanded respect for human rights. I would like to emphasize in this regard also the fact that in our judgment—as we stressed yesterday—any kind of military intervention, any form of intervention from outside, can only lead to confrontation, and the Hungarian Government has no such intention whatsoever. This is our principled stand. It is our stand of principle also, because in our judgment problems of internal tensions cannot be solved anywhere through military interventions—be it in Panama or anywhere else in the world.

Third, I would like to confirm what was said in the Foreign Affairs Committee yesterday: It is the intention of the Hungarian Government to cancel the 1948 Hungarian-Romanian Friendship and Cooperation Treaty. The reason for this is that the foundations on which this agreement is built are diminishing, or have already diminished. Finally, I would like to call your attention to two things:

First, we are receiving many questions—the deputies, the representatives of the government, too—as to whether there is any danger threatening Hungary's security. The anxiety related to this is particularly strong in the country's counties near the Romanian border.

Naturally, the government deals with this—we dealt with the situation late last night, too—and I would like to stress in this respect two things. One of these is that there has been no further development which would indicate that we will face some kind of danger of military threat. There is no question of this. Second, the Hungarian Armed Forces are prepared, should the situation change, or the circumstances perhaps. I consider it necessary under any circumstances to bring this to the attention of the public.

Second, I would like to confirm once more what was voiced in the National Assembly's Foreign Affairs Committee yesterday: We are asking everybody—be it a party, social organization, movement—not to travel to Romania, not to try to get into Russia, because it may lead to serious incidents, and we cannot guarantee the personal safety of any single person. Thank you.

[Farago] Thank you, and now questions. Could the people asking questions please give their names and the name of their organization.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP Correspondent] MAGYAR HIRLAP. Has the suspension or cessation of contacts between Romania and Hungary been discussed?

[Horn] The demand, featured in letters, protests, and petitions from various organizations, that we should sever diplomatic relations with Romania, was mentioned yesterday at the meeting of the Foreign Affairs Committee, too. I would emphasize that it is not our intention to sever diplomatic relations, for it is our conviction that this would only harm and not serve the issue.

At the same time, I would like to remind you that yesterday we asked the Romanian Government, requested from them, that they ensure conditions for the unhindered operation of our Bucharest Embassy.

[Farago] Thank you. Next?

[Dempsey, in English, with superimposed Hungarian translation] Judy Dempsey, FINANCIAL TIMES. I have three questions for Minister Horn. First of all, what does breaking the bilateral agreement of 1948 mean in concrete terms? Second, will you really put the Romanian question to the Security Council? Third, do you have any idea now about the situation in Romania? Are the demonstrations continuing, and if Romania has blamed Budapest for instigating these demonstrations, has Bucharest indicated that they might actually break diplomatic relations with you?

[Horn] Regarding the first question, I emphasized in my introduction that the bases which created the agreement have ceased. It is my conviction that relations have developed with the Romanian official leadership in such a way that the existence of this agreement is untenable, in a moral sense. And, I would emphasize, we do not have problems with the Romanian people, with Romania, but with Romanian policy. And, we have taken the step of abrogating this agreement to demonstrate these very grave differences.

Regarding your second question, maybe I did not formulate quite precisely, or maybe you did not understand exactly what I said. We did not ask to convene the Security Council, but we asked the president to examine the possibility of convening the Security Council. According to our knowledge, Austria and other countries have also requested this. As to what the chances are for it being convened, this is hard to tell from here in Budapest. But the convening of the Security Council can be impeded very easily, mainly through the individual permanent members of the Security Council. So we cannot today give a precise reply to this yet. It is my conviction that if the pressure from member states increases, then the convening of the Security Council will become unavoidable, and particularly if the severe, bloody repression continues in Romania.

We have reliable information about the situation in Romania, that the demonstrations have not stopped, they are spreading to several towns, and the demonstrations are more and more directed against the existing politics, the tyrannical system.

At the same time, they also confirm—and Ceausescu's speech yesterday referred to this, too—that they have brought in the military to suppress these demonstrations and protests.

As to whether the Romanians wish to sever diplomatic relations with us, I cannot answer this because I cannot see into their minds.

[Farago] One moment, Janos Berecz wishes to add something.

[Berecz] Yesterday, the Foreign Affairs Committee guaranteed the government its complete support, in that the severing of diplomatic relations should not be initiated by us, except as a last resort. In diplomatic relations, such a step has not ever really led to results. A presence, the possibility of creating relations again, must always be maintained. It was not we who wanted to close the Kolozsvár [Cluj] Consulate. Our presence disturbed the Romanian authorities. Thus, we agree that only in an ultimate situation, when nothing else can be done, can diplomatic relations be severed.

The other thing is that we most definitely reject this accusation of striving to break up [Romania's] territory, or territorial separation. This is the defense of a crumbling power inciting fear in Romanian patriots. Thus, we confirm that we ourselves keep the spirit of the Helsinki Final Act. What would be best for us would be if the internal relations of the two countries were such that the border became almost negligible in the relations between the two countries, and that it was not under strong military supervision but that the inhabitants of the two countries could cross the border relatively quickly and easily, creating contacts.

[Farago] Thank you. KEPES HET.

[KEPES HET correspondent] [Name indistinct], I would like to ask how reliable our sources of news are. For the sources of news which have appeared in the press are doubtful. I am thinking also of whether the Hungarian secret service, for example, is giving information or photos, for presumably they are on the scene?

I would also like to ask whether I understood correctly that our Armed Forces have prepared for a possible attack.

And, I would like to ask Janos Berecz and Gyula Horn whether they have an opinion, and if so what, on the U.S. intervention in Panama—the National Assembly and government, too.

[Horn] As regards your first question, yesterday in the parliament, too, I only spoke about those pieces of information which we consider reliable, which are checked news. Naturally, in the case of such a party country, many kinds of news and reports appear and are denied. I can only brief public opinion on the basis of reliable sources.

I would like you to understand precisely what I said in my introduction. If necessary, the Hungarian Armed Forces will prepare. But for the moment, we do not see developments which would mean what you put in your question—that is that we have to prepare. So, let us understand each other precisely. So, they will prepare if the situation changes, if there were to be a concentration of troops on the Hungarian-Romania border, on Romania's territory, and so on. There is no question of this. I have spoken about Panama.

[Berecz] The U.S. intervention in Panama is contrary to the stipulation of international law, thus naturally we cannot agree with it. From our point of view, and in connection with the question just discussed, however, I say that this renders useless the protest by the United States in connection with the internal events in Romania. Also, unfortunately, it can be an excuse for anyone to take a similar step—they can refer to the fact that what is allowed for a superpower can perhaps be done by another, too. For this reason, I consider it very regrettable, not just that it happened now, but that it happened at all.

[(Kopner)] My name is Michael (Kopner); I am from the Danish newspaper BERLINGSKE TIDENDE. I would like to ask Mr Horn and Mr Berecz, how long do you estimate Mr Ceausescu can stay in power?

[Horn] I am not a soothsayer. One thing is certain, the events now under way in Temesvar [Timisoara] and other towns show that the conditions there are increasingly untenable. And, for many years, it is the first time that demonstrations, protest actions spreading to several towns have happened, which condemn the Ceausescu regime. So I am optimistic.

[Berecz] The Ceausescu system has profited a great deal from the international support and [word indistinct] received in the past 15-20 years. In my opinion, if it meets with just as resolute isolation and disapproval, then internal public opinion which has stirred, can receive great support and encouragement to go through to the end of toppling this system.

[Correspondent, in English followed by Hungarian translation] Mr Horn, you have reliable and verified information. Perhaps you could say more about the unrest in Romania and how it is spreading. I very clearly understood what it meant—that the Hungarian Army was prepared [as heard]. Does this mean that it has been mobilized, or does it mean that inasmuch as it is necessary, the Army will be mobilized?

[Horn] The situation is as you put it in the second part of your question. Inasmuch as it is necessary, it is prepared, but there is no question of its being in a state of mobilization. That should be clear.

As regards the reliable information on the Romanian events. One such piece of information is that it is not

localized, as I have mentioned. The series of demonstrations encompass Timisoara and several other towns, several other places.

The second thing: There have been clashes—even if they have not been large ones—between the security forces and certain units, officers, enlisted men, of the Army.

The third thing: There exists, or has developed in Romania, a serious political movement, I do not know exactly whether it is comprehensive. It is an anti-Ceausescu movement. There is no accurate information on its strength, on the extent to which it has spread.

Regarding the information which I consider reliable—naturally there are a lot of other reports, but it is not certain they are reliable—various reports put the number of victims at being between 1,000 and 2,500 people—the number of fatalities. So that is what I am able to say.

[Farago] Thank you. MAGYAR NEMZET.

[MAGYAR NEMZET correspondent] I should like to ask two things. Do we have any information, regarding whether any incidents have befallen the members of the Hungarian colony in Bucharest? The other thing: Yesterday, a German journalist came over from Romania. From him I heard a report—I should like confirmation of whether or not it is true. According to this report, in Timisoara, the minorities—that is the Germans and the Magyars—are being dragged out of their homes. The women and men are being separated and (?taken to) separate places. Do you have reliable information of similar content?

[Horn] As regards the members of the Hungarian colony, no direct incident has befallen them. At the same time, as I have mentioned, there are maximum attempts to isolate them from the outside world, from contacts. At the same time, we have telephone and other contacts with the embassy and its employees. So the members of the colony have not been harmed.

Yes, we heard of the report on the separation of the members of minority families. These reports have not been confirmed. I cannot say anything more.

[Farago] Television.

[Television correspondent] Do we have reliable information on the soldiers changing sides? I should like only to confirm this.

[Horn] Yes. Even if not en masse, there are confirmatory reports that there have been conflicts between the soldiers and the security forces.

[Farago] Thank you. Please.

[Traynor, speaking in English followed by Hungarian translation] Ian Traynor, from THE GUARDIAN, London. The first question is, would the foreign minister tell us what is meant by there having been clashes

between the security forces and the Army. The second thing is whether you have consulted with the Soviets on the Romanian events.

[Horn] As regards your first question, I believe that I have said what we know, twice. I cannot add anything more to this.

As regards the second one, naturally we have consulted at the experts' level, but not at the official political level.

[Farago] Thank you. Please.

[Unidentified correspondent] I should like to know whether you have immediate, concrete information on the fate of Laszlo Tokes.

[Correspondent] MAGYAR HIRLAP is enquiring about Laszlo Tokes.

[Horn] Apart from what was said yesterday evening, there is no more information. Thus, he is alive, and he and his wife are confined in a village near the Soviet border.

[Unidentified correspondent] Do you not think, Mr Foreign Minister, that our diplomatic tolerance impels the Romanian leadership to further and further anti-Hungarian accusations and provocations?

[Horn] What do you mean? Allow me to ask what you mean by diplomatic tolerance.

[Correspondent] For example, that we are asking for the possibility of convening the UN Security Council. We at the moment have ordered a police investigation in the affair of the person who was knocked down [by a Romanian car yesterday] and in my view our steps are very, very, tolerant.

[Horn] Excuse me, I cannot accept that. Indeed, I categorically oppose every step or action which arouses hysteria and which further strains the Hungarian-Romanian relationship—that is strained anyway—and I oppose steps which make this tragic event a Hungarian-Romanian affair. I should like to call attention to this. Look around the world, how the world is reacting, and how the various countries and international organizations are reacting. They condemn the actions taken by the Romanian authorities, but beyond that, they have not done as much as we have. For example, we have appealed by way of a letter to the president of the Security Council.

As regards your other question or remark: Yesterday, a car with Romanian diplomatic number plates drove over and seriously injured, knocked down, a man of Romanian nationality. The police have an obligation, not only to guarantee, to ensure the safety of the Romanian Embassy, but also to investigate every case of this type. Especially, if there is such a victim.

Excuse me, I do not understand your question, because not only do civilized norms and requirements necessitate

this, but our international obligations also dictate that we should investigate every such case. And it should be done as expertly as possible.

I ask you to take this into account very much. Hungary is doing everything possible, but in a level-headed manner, and through means which are in harmony with our international opportunities.

[Berecz] I should like to supplement the foreign minister's words by saying that our presence is important for us, and it irritates the Romanian authorities. As long as we are there, the population which lives there, mainly the Magyars, knows that we exist, that we have contacts, and that it is possible to send messages to them and encourage them to persevere. For precisely this reason, I should like to ask the representatives of the Hungarian press, radio, and television to do their utmost so that this National Assembly appeal reaches Romania's population, not only those who speak Hungarian, but those who speak German and Romanian, so that they know that they are supported from outside, and so that we strengthen our solidarity.

Otherwise, we can take a new step if we have been given international support. If we did so much before getting international support, it would lead to our isolation. If we do not take the next step, we shall be making a mistake, but if we go too far ahead, there will be two isolated countries here with a big problem, nor shall we be acting entirely correctly, nor shall we get enough support.

[Farago] You have heard Janos Berecz's supplementary answer.

[Radio Free Europe correspondent in English followed by Hungarian translation] Mr Foreign Minister, you have said that the number of victims can be put at 1,000-2,000. Could you tell us where the towns are where these people died? The second question is in connection with the clashes between the security forces and the Army. Could you tell us where these clashes took place? There have been numerous references to problems in connection with the Hungarian Embassy in Bucharest. Could you say something about the situation there in the Hungarian Embassy?

[Horn] As regards the first two questions, the relevant reply is Timisoara and its vicinity. As regards the Hungarian Embassy in Bucharest, I can say what I said yesterday and before then, too. It is not a matter of their actively mistreating the members of the colony or the embassy, but of their isolating them from their contacts, of keeping them under extremely aggressive observation, and of hampering their movements.

[Farago] Thank you. A final question.

[LA REPUBLICA correspondent, in English followed by Hungarian translation] Is Hungary (considering) steps in the United Nations or at the Vienna follow-up conference?

[Horn] Of course, we have spoken about this.

[Fargo] Ladies and gentlemen, thank you for attending and for your questions.

Pozsgay Reply to Ceausescu Accusation

*LD2112225689 Budapest MTI in English 1318 GMT
21 Dec 89*

[Text] Budapest, December 21 (MTI)—On Thursday, State Minister Imre Pozsgay, member of the Presidium of the Hungarian Socialist Party, called at the Hajdusoboszlo reception site to meet Romanian refugees of Hungarian and Romanian nationality who crossed the border last night.

In a statement to MTI's correspondent after the visit, Imre Pozsgay called it shocking that such institutions have to be run in this part of Europe today. In the Hajdusoboszlo camp, everything possible is being done to ensure a human atmosphere for people arriving with anguish and fear imprinted over the course of 40 years.

The fact of fleeing also indicates that those living there see no chance for a change. We have no right to raise hopes without adequate means and grounds, although we are confident that one day the peoples of Romania will alter the conditions which have now made them homeless.

Things have changed in Eastern Europe and, I hope, mostly for the better. There have also been street demonstrations in Berlin, Prague and other towns of the German Democratic Republic and Czechoslovakia, but no-one would think of an inclusion country on this continent not to refrain even from bloodshed if people go to reject the dictatorship.

In connection with President Ceausescu's statement that Hungary was behind the latest events, Imre Pozsgay said, "with this, Ceausescu resorted to the basest method. On seeing that he cannot cope with his own people, he wants to put the blame for what happened in Timisoara and is going on in that country onto external instigators. We know these political manoeuvres. He is not the first dictator to use such methods. But not even this can save him. I do not think that in the long run he can excuse himself before his own people by chauvinistic instigation and belittling the governments and peoples of other countries."

Vienna Arms Talks Delegates on Romania

*LD2112225589 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 2100 GMT 21 Dec 89*

[Text] Romania was the topic at today's Vienna conventional arms reduction talks. Istvan Kulcsar reports:

[Kulcsar] In Vienna, the fourth round of talks dealing with the reduction of conventional armed forces in Europe and increasing confidence have concluded. I asked Ambassador David Meiszter over the telephone

whether the Romanian events—what happened in Timisoara—had been mentioned at the negotiations.

[Begin recording] [Meiszter] On the last day of the talks for increasing confidence, this was almost the exclusive topic. The meeting condemned the actions of the Romanian Government extremely strongly, and called on it to cease suppressing the peaceful demonstrations by use of Armed Force.

[Kulcsar] Were diplomats from Warsaw Pact member countries among those who spoke?

[Meiszter] Of course. The Polish and the Bulgarian delegations spoke and condemned it. The Hungarian delegation—well, of course we spoke up and condemned it extremely forcefully. Apart from that, we informed the forum about the resolution brought by the parliament in Hungary, about the demonstrations, and in general about the outrage with which the Hungarian people received all that has happened in Romania. [end recording]

Security Council Asked To Discuss Events

*LD2112230789 Budapest MTI in English 1552 GMT
21 Dec 89*

[Text] New York, December 21 (MTI)—Ambassador Ferenc Esztergalyos, Hungary's permanent representative to the United Nations Organization, addressed a letter on Wednesday to the chairman of the Security Council.

The letter was also forwarded to the United Nations secretary-general and the chairman of the 44th General Assembly session. Mr Esztergalyos called attention to the violent measures of the Romanian authorities taken over the past days which were received with shock and indignation by the Hungarian public.

The grave cases of violating human rights in Romania, including the fate of reformed clergyman Laszlo Tokes of Timisoara, eloquently shows the conditions prevailing in Romania and attests that the Romanian Government is unwilling to respect its obligations accepted in the United Nations Charter and in other international political and legal documents.

Referring to authorization from the Hungarian Government, the ambassador requested the chairman of the Security Council to call on the Romanian authorities to respect human rights and basic liberties and to fully implement their related international obligations.

Mr Esztergalyos also asked to examine the possibility of convening the session of the Security Council to discuss the issue.

Refugees Demonstrate in Budapest

*LD2112234389 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1730 GMT 21 Dec 89*

[Text] A commemoration is still going on in Budapest, at the Romanian Embassy and at Heroes' Square. Andras Erfalvi reports:

[Erfalvi] Down with slavery in Romania; faith, freedom, democracy. It was under such signs and black flags that several hundred Romanian refugees, members of the Romanian anticommunist league [roman antikommunista liga], gathered this afternoon at Heroes' Square. Their spokesman called on those gathered to hold a peace march, to take place after the Christmas holidays from Budapest to the Romanian border. According to their belief, these actions are very important, since only from these actions can those at home draw strength. The final location of the demonstration will be in front of the Romanian Embassy where the members of the league have organized a gathering for every refugee from Romania.

Day of Mourning on 21 Dec

*LD2212073989 Budapest MTI in English 2218 GMT
21 Dec 89*

[Text] Budapest, December 21 (MTI)—Hungarian people turned Thursday into a day of mourning, sympathy and protest. Black flags were flown on public buildings and private homes, in memory of the massacre in Timisoara.

Throughout the country, prayers have been said for the lives of the persecuted Romanians since Tuesday dawn, in the wake of an appeal by Istvan Seregely, archbishop of Eger. Parties, social organizations, unions, and individuals have expressed their protest against the Romanian terror, in telegrams and letters.

A peaceful demonstration was held on Thursday afternoon in front of the Romanian Embassy in Budapest.

The Presidium of the Democratic Federation of Romanians in Hungary held a special session in Gyula. On behalf of the more than 20,000 ethnic Romanians in Hungary, the body formulated a memorandum condemning all forms of nationalist manifestations, particularly the inexplicable effort of Romanian power to term opposition between the minorities and the nations as the actual reason for the popular indignation.

The Nyiregyhaza Presidium of the Hungarian Socialist Party asked the Hungarian Government to employ an economic boycott against Romania.

Heeding the appeal of the Hungarian Democratic Forum, bells began to toll at 1 p.m. throughout the country. Factory sirens, car horns and engine whistles were heard, and pedestrians protested with a one-minute silent standstill in the streets.

The commemorations and protest rallies continued in the evening hours. Funeral mass was held in several places. Candles were lighted on Thursday evening in all parts of the country for the victims of Timisoara, the persecuted, and the innocently slain.

Entrepreneurs Call for Boycott

*LD2112234689 Budapest Television Service
in Hungarian 1830 GMT 21 Dec 89*

[Text] Hungarian parties, organizations, and alliances have been calling our editorial office all day to protest against the Romanian events. Unfortunately we cannot satisfy all requests, but let us broadcast the appeal in which Janos Palotas, president of the National Federation of Entrepreneurs calls on Hungarian enterprises and economic organizations to suspend relations with their Romanian counterparts.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] This economic boycott, in fact, could be an personal goal for you.

[Palotas] Yes, it is an irrational step for the economy, because the development of the elements of economic relations takes a long time. So it is irrational, but the situation is also abnormal, and it is not possible to handle it only with normal means. Very many of the entrepreneurs living here have connections with Romania. Nevertheless, the appeal was confirmed by a unanimous resolution. [end recording]

Sub-Carpathians Condemn Violence

*LD2212092289 Budapest MTI in English 2221 GMT
21 Dec 89*

[Text] Budapest, December 21 (MTI)—According to a report by Sandor Fodo, president of the Hungarian Cultural Federation of Sub-Carpathia, Soviet Union, solidarity demonstrations were held on Thursday in sub-Carpathia, in memory of the victims of the Timisoara massacre.

On Wednesday evening, several hundred students paid tribute to the memory of the victims by lighting candles in the University of Uzhgorod, in the presence of the university leaders and representatives of the komsomol committee. The board of the Hungarian Cultural Federation of sub-Carpathia also raised its voice against the bloodshed staged protests in several sub-Carpathian towns inhabited by Hungarians.

Telegrams were sent to Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, from several places, requesting that the Soviet Union officially condemn the unparalleled terror of the Ceausescu regime. At 1 p.m. on Thursday, bells were tolled in several sub-Carpathian towns, in memory of the Romanian victims.

TU Leader Calls for Boycott

*LD2012121289 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1039 GMT 20 Dec 89*

[Remarks by Deputy Sandor Nagy, National Council of Trade Unions secretary general, at Hungarian National Assembly in Budapest—live]

[Excerpt] Esteemed National Assembly, esteemed fellow deputies. It is not easy to return to domestic problems after the foreign minister's briefing about the Romanian drama. In any event, since this is how chance will have it, I would also like, among the first of the deputies, to join the Hungarian Government's steps, and to assure it of my support. Also, when I say that I would like to highlight in Zoltan Kiraly's proposal not necessarily only what is concrete, but the thought that we might have to take preventive steps, over and above the steps taken so far, precisely in order that this problem should not be allowed to escalate to such an extent that it might perhaps necessitate graver responses.

But naturally I accept Foreign Minister Gyula Horn's reply that this issue, the entire range of issues, should be weighed up in a complex manner by the Foreign Affairs Committee.

Since it is a question of this, I would like to announce that today we are turning to the three great international trade union federations of the world with an appeal, in which we ask that these international federations call on all their member organizations to exercise pressure on their own governments, to call on their own governments, not to support Romania, to take steps in relation to Romania, and in their own way also to weigh the possibility of taking a stand in certain cases through a boycott, a boycott of deliveries, in cases where this could weaken the power of the dictatorship, that they should be able to make a stand with such tools, as well. We propose that this be considered. [passage omitted]

Karpati To Hold Talks on Soviet Troop Withdrawal

*LD2112233489 Budapest MTI in English 1855 GMT
21 Dec 89*

[Text] Budapest, December 21 (MTI)—Continuing the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary, a decision has been reached on withdrawing a tactical missile brigade, a fighter bomber air wing, a mechanized rifle regiment, two armoured car battalions, and two construction troops [as received] from Hungary in 1990. In accordance with the troop withdrawal agreement announced at the beginning of the year, an assault battalion will also be withdrawn from Hungary. This was announced by Minister of Defence Ferenc Karpati on Thursday in Budapest. At the joint session of parliament's foreign affairs and defence committees, held after the December session of the National Assembly ended.

Retired Brigadier General Janos Sebok reiterated his proposal, under which parliament should authorize the government to hold talks with the Soviet Government on

fully withdrawing Soviet troops temporarily stationed in Hungary by December 31, 1990. Justifying the motion, Mr Sebok said no military or political reasons exist for the stationing of Soviet troops in Hungary. Therefore withdrawal cannot depend on the development of the Vienna arms reduction talks.

Mr Karpati reconfirmed that neither political nor military reasons exist for the stationing of Soviet troops in Hungary. However, he stressed that troop withdrawals affect European stability, therefore these can be scheduled depending on the results of the Vienna talks.

As the session did not have a quorum, MPs [members of parliament] position of the committees on Mr Sebok's motion at another session, in early January. [sentence as received]

USSR's Gusev Talks With Medgyessy, Nemeth

*LD2112235389 Budapest MTI in English 2040 GMT
21 Dec 89*

[Text] Budapest, December 21 (MTI)—Soviet Deputy Prime Minister Vladimir Gusev arrived in Budapest on Thursday, meeting an invitation from Deputy Prime Minister Peter Medgyessy. Mr Gusev is to attend the meeting of the co-chairmen of the Hungarian-Soviet inter-governmental Committee for economic and Technical and Scientific cooperation.

Mr Gusev was met at Ferihegy Airport by Mr Medgyessy and Lajos Berenyi, vice-president of the National Planning Office.

The co-chairmen of the committee opened talks during the day. They are to review the tasks arising from the principal agreements reached at the last prime ministerial meeting, and concrete issues of Hungarian-Soviet economic cooperation for 1990.

Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth met Mr Gusev on Thursday evening.

Parliament Members Form Israeli Friendship Group

*LD2112180489 Budapest MTI in English 1522 GMT
21 Dec 89*

[Text] Budapest, December 21 (MTI)—Speaking at the December session of Hungarian parliament in Budapest on Thursday, MP Karoly Eke for Csongrad County announced that at their Thursday session, the group of independent MPs had taken a stand on setting up the Israeli friendship group of the Hungarian National Assembly. At the initiative of visiting Hungarian MPs, a Hungarian friendship group was formed in the Knesset recently.

National Assembly Winds Up December Session

Details of 1990 Budget Noted

*LD2112175489 Budapest MTI in English 0947 GMT
21 Dec 89*

[Text] Budapest, December 21, 1989 (MTI-ECONews)—After one and a half days' debate, today morning the Hungarian parliament approved the crisis budget of the government for next year.

The debate heard several appeals by MPS for additional budget support, claims totalling in value 40 billion forints. The government however, with strong backing from the plan and budget committee, firmly rejected all appeals for more budget spending. Since practically no MP proposal was accepted, the parliament finally passed the original budget.

Next year's budget envisages 608.1 billion forints (9.5 billion USD) spending, as compared to 579.2 billion forints this year.

Budget incomes are planned to reach 598.2 billion forints (9.35 billion USD), as against 529.9 billion this year.

The budget deficit will thus be 9.9 billion forints (150 million USD), as compared to 49.3 billion this year.

Consumer Tax, Prices Bill Approved

*LD2112175989 Budapest MTI in English 1447 GMT
21 Dec 89*

[Text] Budapest, December 21 (MTI)—During the December session of the Hungarian National Assembly in Budapest Thursday, MPs carried the bill on the consumer tax and consumer price subsidies by a ratio of 172 to 28 votes with 45 abstentions.

Next year, the government plans to raise the consumer tax by 13,700 million forints and reduce consumer price subsidies by 4,600 million forints. The tax rise will affect coffee, tea, tobacco and alcoholic beverages and products in the range of motorization, and the reduced consumer price subsidy apply to water supply, drainage, and cheese and curd sales.

The consumer tax rise is expected to push up the consumer price level by 2 per cent and the consumer price subsidy reduction by 0.5 per cent.

Assembly To Dissolve on 16 Mar

*LD2112174989 Budapest MTI in English 1518 GMT
21 Dec 89*

[Text] Budapest, December 21 (MTI)—As reported, during the December session of the Hungarian National Assembly in Budapest Thursday, MPs decided, through voting by name, to dissolve parliament as of March 16, 1990, with 320 votes for and 2 abstentions.

Under the resolution, parliament proposes the interim president of the republic should set the date of the parliamentary elections in keeping with the terms of the Constitution. It requests the acting speaker of parliament to make a proposal, jointly with the chairman of the Council of Ministers, on the parliament's programme of legislation for the remainder of its tenure. The laws to be drafted should ensure adequate preparations for the parliamentary elections and see to maintaining the country's economic viability and the continuity of government.

According to the justification of the resolution, by drafting the key laws, the National Assembly has created the most important constitutional and legal conditions for a peaceful transition, a law state and the elections. In the light of the socio-economic conditions and altered political relations, parliament considers that the parliamentary elections should be held as soon as possible in order to ease transition-related tensions.

Speaking to journalists in the parliament building, Istvan Fodor, acting speaker of the National Assembly, pointed out that disbanding as of March 16 will enable the interim president of the republic to call the elections for the end of march.

Technical Development Fund Law Amended

*LD2112180689 Budapest MTI in English 1528 GMT
21 Dec 89*

[Text] Budapest, December 21 (MTI)—In Budapest on Thursday, the December session of Hungarian parliament carried the amendment to the Law No XI/1988 on the central technical development fund.

Accordingly, next year 1,160 million forints are to be allocated from the central technical development fund for the purposes of the national scientific research fund and 690 million forints for the higher education development fund.

Legislative Session Summarized

*LD2112233589 Budapest MTI in English 2138 GMT
21 Dec 89*

[Text] Budapest, December 21 (MTI)—"The year ahead of us will be the greatest test for Hungary: We shall have to prove, both to ourselves and the world, that we have reached democracy, and that we shall ensure peaceful transition until free elections at all events", Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth said at the end of parliament's last session of the year. Mr Nemeth thanked the MPs [members of parliament] for creating a chance to keep the economy functioning, by approving the budget.

On Thursday morning, MPs approved a document which calls the attention of all parliaments of the world to the Romanian terror, the brutality which brought a bloody end to the freedom fight.

MPs also approved the bills on consumer tax and consumer price subsidies.

It was decided not to hold a referendum in January about the coat of arms of the Republic of Hungary, as the results of the referendum of November 26 invalidated the National Assembly resolution on announcing the election of the president of the republic. The referendum would have been held on these two issues.

The MPs also decided on the composition and tasks of several parliamentary examination committees. These bodies include the committee examining the affairs that occurred in the Army, which were made public in a book by Colonel Imre Bokor, and the committee which awards budgetary assistance to social organizations.

The group of opposition democratic MPs protested because the Ministry of the Interior had destroyed documents related to the activity of the opposition, and Hungarian intelligence service. [sentence as received] The minister of the interior firmly rejected this.

Session Ends

LD2112175289 Budapest MTI in English 1543 GMT
21 Dec 89

[Text] Budapest, December 21 (MTI)—In Budapest on Thursday, Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth asked to take the floor as the last event of the December session.

Mr Nemeth expressed his thanks to all who made it possible for the country to have an approved budget. With this decision, the MPs have created a chance for keeping the economy functioning, he said.

Istvan Fodor, acting speaker of parliament, then declared the last parliamentary session of 1989 closed. He announced the next session would probably open on January 23.

Skubiszewski Issues Statement on Romania

LD2112181189 Warsaw PAP in English 1544 GMT
21 Dec 89

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 21—Polish Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski conveyed to PAP a statement on the situation in Romania. The statement reads as follows:

The Polish public opinion is deeply shocked by the tragic events in Romania that have led to the death of many people.

Order keeping forces and army units were used in the bloody pacification of the demonstration population of Timisoara.

It is not the first time that Romanian society is expressing its protest and dissatisfaction at the conditions of life and lack of respect for elementary civic freedoms in that country. However, its will and aspirations have been ignored and suppressed every time. This has deepened Romania's isolation in the general trend of transformations taking place in Eastern and Central Europe and has been to the detriment of Romanian nation's interests.

The stand of the Polish people on the latest developments in Romania was formulated explicitly in the unanimously adopted Sejm resolution of December 19 of this year.

The Polish Government on its part also expresses its firm protest against the methods of Romanian authorities which have led to events tragic in their effects and solidarizes with the victims' families.

The government appeals to Romanian authorities for an immediate halt to reprisals against the society and starting authentic dialogue with it.

The Polish Government reminds that Romania, participating in the international life, has assumed the obligations stemming from the United Nations Charter and other treaties. Romania also has duties which stem from the universal international law. Also important here is the CSCE Final Act. Any violation of these obligations evokes justified protests of the international community.

Poland condemns the use of force which leads to victims among the civilians who want to realize their universally recognized rights.

Rakowski on Developments in GDR, Reunification

AU1812100389 Hamburg DIE ZEIT in German
15 Dec 89 pp 10-11

[Article by Mieczyslaw Rakowski, first secretary of the Polish United Workers Party: "Convinced of the Inevitability"]

[Text] For several weeks now, the Europeans have been rubbing their eyes and following the events in one part of

Germany, the GDR, with extraordinary astonishment, admiration, and surprise. I am sure that the politicians in the East and West did not expect such a thing. To be sure, it was assumed that changes were bound to come there—but that soon? And so smoothly? Let us consider that the GDR citizens ousted the leadership of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], which had ruled without interruption for years, and the government of Willi Stoph in a few days, forced the authorities to open the borders, and climbed on the ill-famed Berlin Wall. What is more: Irrespective of whether anybody liked it or not, they addressed the topic of Germany's unification and forced a large number of politicians from the Atlantic to the Urals to seriously reflect on the durability of the secure system of the European balance that the superpowers had installed following World War II.

All this was imposed by peaceful demonstrations, without stones and strikes, without blood and tears, and even outside working hours. One of my friends who followed our 8-year Polish-Polish struggle and watched our state being shaken up by incessant strikes and various conflicts, told me that this was impressive as well as terrible. Why terrible? I asked him. Just imagine, he said, what such a disciplined people can achieve.

I do not share this view, because I doubt that the GDR citizens have such a high degree of discipline; among other things, because the chaos in this country's economy, which has now become known, does not prove such discipline at all. I would much rather say that it is simply a clever people. It is worried about itself and its country, irrespective of what happens to it in the future. Today there is the state. Will it still exist tomorrow? We will see.

Before writing about the future, I would like to describe a few scenes from the present. I took part in the ceremonies marking the GDR's 40th anniversary. SED chief Erich Honecker gave a speech in the Palace of the Republic in which he praised the achievements and outlined prospects of continuation—without any changes. What was good in the past should also be good in the future. However, the citizens of the GDR, in particular the young ones, expected different prospects. There, in the Palace of the Republic, Honecker ignited the fuse of the powder keg on which the GDR leadership had already been sitting for years. At dinner, Jaruzelski and I heard him say that the robot technology had made considerable progress! Nothing else.

The next day there was a torchlight procession. I was standing on the platform and could hardly wait for the beautiful procession to be finally over. Thousands of young people were marching past the platform, and the only thing I heard were the incessant shouts, "Gorby, Gorby, help us!" Nobody called "Erich, Erich." I admit that I was sorry for the old politician. He must have been disappointed. The man who had been in fascist prisons, a dogged enemy of fascism and militarism, the initiator of many real achievements of the GDR—we must not

underestimate that if we want to be fair—did not hear a word of gratitude. At that time, the masses did not think of gratitude. I was impressed by the shouts that I had heard from the platform. On the following day, I met with Mikhail Gorbachev. Referring to the shouts of the participants in the torchlight procession, I said: "It looks very much as if they wanted you to liberate them a second time." A smile flitted across Gorbachev's face....

On 2 November, Egon Krenz, who was already SED chief, came to Warsaw. We discussed what was happening in his country in a frank and honest way. I asked him: "Can you imagine that some day 100,000 of your fellow countrymen will go to the Wall and will start tearing it down?" Having reflected for a moment, Egon said: "That is possible." A week later, the Berlin Wall virtually ceased to exist.

I would like to make a confession at this point. The future of the Berlin Wall has ranked highly in my reflections on the German problem. Considering the changes that are taking place in the world, in particular under the influence of perestroika, I arrived at the conclusion that the days of the Wall's existence are numbered. Some of my German friends said that I had added a new song—the song on the short life of the Berlin Wall—to my old song on the inevitability of German reunification! I was so uncompromising that I made a few bets. Now I only need to ask for the gain—a few bottles of wine, preferably Mosel, which I like most.

There are commentators who reflect on the connection between recent events in the GDR and the road on which Poland and Hungary have embarked. Undoubtedly such a connection exists; however, I do not interpret the matter so narrowly. All of East and central Europe has entered a phase of revolutionary change, and what is happening in the GDR forms part of it. We should try to see already now what will develop from it, even though we should avoid dogmatic judgments, because history is seductive, ironical, malicious, and has already disappointed many soothsayers and rigorously thwarted many intentions.

Even though we are still measuring events in the GDR in weeks, we recognize in reactions to them, particularly in reactions abroad, certain phases that clearly differ from each other.

I describe the first one as euphoric. Politicians of different nationalities and political persuasions began to make happy statements, and the Bundestag sang the national anthem when the news broke about the opening of the Berlin Wall. The euphoria was fully justified, because objectively, the Wall, which had been built in a political and economic situation that was not favorable for the GDR, contradicted the idea of humanism and was against the will, said the Europeans, to achieve peaceful and friendly coexistence. In fact, it was impossible to bring it in line with the idea of setting up a common European home. However, it reminded the Germans every day that they are a divided people. It is

not surprising that German youth from both sides climbed on the Wall, which is already dead now, thank goodness.

I do not know whether euphoria in the two German states is continuing. I do not follow German everyday life in detail; however, the phase of euphoria in West Europe has certainly ended. Its politicians and journalists have initiated the next phase, which I would call the phase of thinking in which the number of almost clear statements (and perhaps wishes?) corresponds to the number of questions asked.

The most important topic in this phase is everything that has to do with the possible reunification of Germany. For years, the Germans' main allies told them that they could expect moral and political support in their striving for unity. They made this promise because they did not even see a remote possibility in this respect. If somebody promises something that he cannot keep, we in Poland say that he promises "pears on a willow." Such promises cost nothing. The Germans were satisfied with the support they were promised, and the politicians in Washington, Paris, and London went to bed with the happy certainty that they did not have to worry about what would happen if...because they did not believe in reunification anyway.

These promises also allowed them to criticize the Soviet Union, which stated time and again that it was opposed to the reunification of Germany. The events in the GDR upset the allies' entire past strategy regarding reunification. Heads of state, chiefs of government, and party leaders made all sorts of statements. Those who wrote them, and those who made them followed the slogans on the banners of the demonstrators in East Berlin, Leipzig, and other GDR cities closely. Would the demand for the reunification of Germany appear on them? At this moment, as I am writing this contribution, the opposition in the GDR does not yet have such slogans. Is this so because George Bush said on 9 November that he did not see a connection between the changes going on in the GDR and the issue of German reunification, and that it was too early to speak about reunification? I do not think so. I would much rather assume that the opposition has different goals at this stage, which today are more important for the citizens in the GDR. In addition, why should they make all of Europe and Washington tremble?

Scott Sullivan wrote in *NEWSWEEK* on 20 November that "all elements of the new European dilemma are concentrated in Germany, the richest and most expansionist state of the old continent." French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas stated that "it is dangerous to touch the pacts and alliances or borders" in Europe as long as the reforms in the East are not ended. How many years will that take? Certainly not 5 or 10. Dumas says that regarding the reunification issue, "the sensitivity of the German people" as well as "the sensitivity of its neighbors" must be considered. The Frenchman Claude Imbert writes in *LE POINT* on 13 November about an

80-million superpower which would crush Europe by its might, and whose center would shift from Bonn to Berlin, from the Rhineland to Prussia. Sullivan holds the view that German reunification is probably inevitable; however, he demands that this process develop slowly and under the vigilant eyes of the four former occupying powers.

The statements of politicians and journalists suddenly contain formulations that we have not heard for a long time. We read that the possible reunification of Germany must consider the aspects of security of all countries, including that of the USSR. "Those who ignore the Soviet Union's security interests jeopardize the reform process," says Hans-Dietrich Genscher. Francois Mitterrand agrees with him; he says in an interview with *QUOTIDIEN DE PARIS* that Gorbachev told him that "on the day when the reunification of Germany comes about, a brief two-line message will be published by the TASS news agency to the effect that my office will be taken over by a marshal." Thus reunification must not be allowed because perestroika could catch a cold. Another politician takes comfort from the fact that the reunification of Germany is a long-term process. Yet another politician warns about the outbreak of German nationalism.

And finally, the way out that has been recommended most is this: The German question should be solved in the framework of European structures. That is a sensible proposal, but.... Even if we assume that one Europe will be built, this is a question not only of the next 5 or 10 years but of an entire generation. Will the Germans wait that long? This is a serious question.

In my view, the process of German reunification has been going on for many years. It was initiated by Willy Brandt who freed the policy toward the GDR of ostracism and ideological grimness which were typical of the Cold War years when the identity of the two German states was forming. Helmut Schmidt continued the policy of opening toward the GDR. From the German standpoint, the two social democrats have rendered the Germans a great service.

Since that time, the comprehensive cooperation between the FRG and the GDR, particularly in the economic sector, has advanced so much that the antagonism that existed between the two states in the fifties and sixties belongs to the past, I think. In the seventies and even more in the eighties, the intellectual bonds and the sense of national unity have constantly been strengthened, despite the Berlin Wall, travel restrictions, and other things. I know many people, both in the GDR and in the FRG, who have fully confirmed my observation. By the way, has anybody taken the currently valid thesis of the socialist German nation seriously?

In my view, the Germans' intellectual unity and the sense of belonging to one nation, resulting from the continuous process of complex rapprochement between the two German states and from the changes in the

international situation, are clearer now than they were 10 or 15 years ago. There is no doubt that as a result of events in the GDR, the number of those Germans who will knock at the door of unification will increase, in particular on the Eastern side. I do not think that the warnings in Washington, Moscow, Paris, or London that it is too early, and that one should wait until we have reconsidered many problems and have rearranged the building blocks that we put together carefully many years ago, will be able to stop the urge for reunification. In my view, this urge will be growing because the aspirations for unification are also and possibly above all based on the longing for higher consumption. Where will a policy lead that is aimed at curbing aspirations for unification? That is hard to say at this point; however, there is no doubt that there will be an interesting toing and froing of the main actors on the world political stage.

Because I have predicted the inevitability of German reunification for many years, I have told my German friends that I do not expect a traditional unification. I spoke about confederation, about common institutions comprising both parts of Germany, about their joint appearance in the international arena with regard to certain matters, and about other things—and all this at a time when nothing suggested that all of East and central Europe would be caught up by a wave of revolutionary convulsions able to cause radical social policy changes in some countries—changes from socialism to capitalism. It is a foregone conclusion that the reality and permanence of the idea of a confederation must be reconsidered when the time has come.

Regarding the Poles' stance on the reunification of Germany, opinions are divided. Some people believe that it is useless to reject it because it is inevitable. Others believe—as the French do—that the emergence of an economic giant on our western border will have a negative effect on the Poles' future fate. Yet others, such as the renowned rightist-oriented journalist Stefan Kisielewski, think that the reunification of Germany is unacceptable to the Poles, because revisionist circles in Germany link it with the issue of the Polish western border.

Here, on the Weichsel River, no statement remains unnoticed that calls the permanent validity of this border into question. Because Helmut Kohl refused to recognize the definite character of the Oder-Neisse border during his recent visit to Poland, his visit did not achieve a breakthrough. The goal of genuine reconciliation is as far away as a peace treaty with Germany! The vow that the Germans do not intend to revise the post-World War II borders is commented on by statements such as: "We have often heard that before." The reaction to such comment is that these borders will be definitely defined by a peace treaty. Nobody believes that such a treaty will be concluded in the foreseeable future.

I have also heard the following argument: If the revisionist aspirations are still alive in divided Germany,

what will happen in a reunified Germany which will then find itself even stronger? Some people may find this stance excessively cautious; however, it must not just be shrugged off. Some Poles reject the reunification of Germany, and justify this with their experiences in the remote past. They refer to Germany which was united by Bismarck in 1870/71. This fact gave the anti-Polish policy pursued by Prussia a strong impetus. A fascist state emerged from the unified Germany, which was the Polish people's deadly enemy. What will be in store for us, they ask, if the Prussian spirit is revived in a reunified Germany? They claim that old currents and orientations which seemed to belong to the past long ago are reviving in East and central Europe.

In conclusion, a confession by the author: Many years ago, I said that I would not be concerned about the unfavorable consequences of German reunification for my people, if Poland were to become the Sweden of East Europe. That will hardly happen before the end of this century, and that is really a pity.

Dec 1970 Riots Commemorated

LD1812044589 Warsaw PAP in English 2233 GMT
17 Dec 89

[Text] Gdansk, Dec. 17—Observances of the 19th anniversary of December events were continued in Gdansk and Gdynia today.

Gdynia residents met at the monument to December 1970 victims mounted in front of the Paris Commune Shipyard ten years ago. It is situated near a railway station where first shots to workers were fired.

After a prayer a several-thousand-strong group set out towards the town's centre following the route of the historic workers' demonstration. A roll-call of the dead was read in the square in front of the municipal office where a monument commemorating the December victims is to be mounted beside the cross placed there ten years ago.

Ordinary of Chelmo Diocese Bishop Marian Przykucki celebrated a field mass for the victims during which prayers for the motherland's welfare were also said.

In Gdansk observances were held under the motto of reconciliation with the militia. Father Henryk Jankowski invited militiamen to St. Brygida's Church to participate in a requiem mass and partake of a wafer.

Following the mass attended also by Solidarity leader Lech Walesa a procession of militiamen, their families, and believers was formed. In front of the monument to fallen shipyard workers the demonstrators commemorated all victims of those events (a militiaman was also killed in December 1970) and laid flowers there.

The observances in Gdynia were held in serious and calm atmosphere. Following the mass however a group of some 30 youth from Fighting Solidarity and Fighting Youth Federation organized their own demonstration.

With banners reading "Down with the Commune" and "Soviets go home" the youth marched towards the PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] headquarters shouting slogans against Jaruzelski, Walesa, Communists and the militia. The young people started to tear down and destroy the sign-boards on the party building.

Observances in Szczecin [subhead]

"On the anniversary of the tragic events we turn our thoughts to those who gave their lives in the streets of Szczecin while fighting for human dignity and justice," read the obituaries of the regional Solidarity informing about the anniversary observances in Szczecin today.

Shipyard sirens signalled the beginning of the observances. Bishops of Szczecin and Kamien Diocese with its ordinary Kazimierz Majdanski hold prayers in front of the plaque commemorating "the fallen in December 1970 in the name of solidarity of working class" situated at the main gate of Adolf Warynski Shipyard.

Walesa 16 Dec Speech on Dec 1970 Anniversary

AU2112143589 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish
18 Dec 89 pp 1, 3

[Speech by "Solidarity" Chairman Lech Walesa in Gdansk on 16 December]

[Text] When in 1980—the 10th anniversary of the December 1970 events—I unveiled this Monument to the Shipyard Workers, I did not conceive that a year later the shipyard would again be on strike, that tanks would be used to break down the shipyard gates, and that the streets would become a battleground. I did not believe that 11 years after that first December there would come another December, that people would be killed in the "Wujek" coalmine, and that Pole would rise against Pole and innocent blood would be spilt.

Then there followed the years of martial law. The monument, ignored by the authorities of the time, became the source of strength and inspiration to "Solidarity." On each anniversary we came here, eluding the police cordons, not to seek a pretext for a fight with ZOMO [Motorized Reserve of the Citizens Militia], but to remember all those who died in December 1970, and so that you could live in dignity. Their sacrifice was not in vain, for without the people who were mowed down by the fratricidal bullets there would have been no August 1980.

Today we are facing a great opportunity, a much greater opportunity than we had in 1980. We have our government, with a "Solidarity" premier at its head, we have a democratic Senate and Sejm, and we have a favorable international climate. We have grown wiser through our many experiences. We initiated the reforms in Eastern Europe, and today we see that we are not alone. The memory of all those who died in December 1970 will not permit us to waste such an opportunity. We have to keep

calm and composed. We have to be brave and sensible. We have to show solidarity with each other.

The government has initiated state reform. It is working under extreme pressure of time and growing social impatience. It has to radically change the fossilized system of the last 45 years. We are staking everything on this. The support of the whole society is needed in order to accomplish the task of rebuilding the country. Support for the government does not just mean accepting its decisions, it also means changing oneself. Very often we put our private matters above the good of the whole community.

We cannot continue to live the way we have lived. In all honesty, it was not us that brought the country to its knees economically, but the task of putting it on its feet again has undoubtedly fallen to us. If we fail, this difficult task will fall on the shoulders of our children. The greatest Polish tragedy that could occur now would be for us to try and resolve our complicated economic problems by taking to the streets.

If we do not help ourselves, nobody will do it for us. Let our children be happy with what we shall build for them. Let them not have to waste their lives trying to put right what we, their parents, left undone. Today the dead shipyard workers deserve another monument, namely, a just, sovereign, democratic, and prosperous Poland. We have all the possibilities. This is the kind of Poland we have to build, and I believe that this is the kind of Poland we shall create.

Walesa Grants Interview to PAP 19 Dec

LD2112170689 Warsaw PAP in English 1823 GMT
19 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow, Dec. 19—Before departing from Moscow for Gdansk today, Solidarnosc chairman Lech Walesa granted an interview to PAP correspondent, following are excerpts:

Question: Some hold that Solidarnosc is more open to the West than to the East. Do you share this view?

Answer: Things are different. It is the East which has not opened much to Solidarnosc. But this is changing now. We also hope that Solidarnosc will speak more on its own in the East.

Q: One recently hears of the need to de-ideologize and de-monopolize Polish-Soviet relations. It is being pointed out that the party cannot have monopoly on relations with the Soviet Union. What is your opinion on the issue?

A: I share these opinions. We cannot have a situation in which only one party has relations while society and other groups do not. This only brings losses. Is a source of many misunderstandings and it is high time to end with this. One must make everyone aware that we will not move Poland to America and that Poland is the Soviet Union's neighbour whether she likes it or not. The

only problem is how to establish good relations. These must at the same time be partner-like relations. This time it cannot be that something will be enforced. Friendship must flow from partnership and not decrees or the monopoly of one party.

Sejm Debates Amnesty Law

AU1312143389 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish
8 Dec 89 pp 1,3

[Maciej Urbaniak and Maciej Zdzenicki report: "The Finale of the Dispute Concerning the Amnesty"]

[Excerpts] The Sejm broke through the psychological barrier. The fear that it would not prove possible to achieve a two-thirds majority required to reject any Senate amendments were shown to be unfounded. This is precisely what happened with two bills that had returned from the Senate with various suggested amendments, namely, the bill on the amnesty, and the bill on returning to work. The Sejm deputies, voting in accordance with the findings of the commission, rejected, or passed the amendments with an overwhelming majority.

The Sejm finally called a Constitutional Commission into being. It accepted deputy premier Leszek Balcerowicz's request that he postpone the presentation of the draft budget for the coming year; it heard Krzysztof Skubiszewski, minister for foreign affairs speak on the government's position on the German question; and it began to debate proposed changes to the legislation on cooperatives. The inclusion of this last and unplanned item now means that the Sejm debate will continue on Friday.

A Tempest in a Teacup

Traditionally, the Sejm can accept the proposed order of the day without discussion, by remaining silent. It was different with the bill on cooperatives. [passage omitted]

The tempest in a teacup was begun by deputy Zbigniew Mierzwa, (Polish Peasant Party—"Rebirth"), who moved that this item be deleted from the agenda. He was supported by deputy Janusz Blaszczyk, of the Democratic Party [SD]. They argued that the Congress of Cooperative Workers, which is to be held on 15 December, should have its say first, and, until that time, the Sejm ought not begin the debate.

Their proposal was sharply rejected. The first reading is not a binding decision of the Sejm, and the Congress of Cooperative Workers would surely like to know the feelings of the Sejm deputies on this issue, replied Henryk Wujek (Citizens Deputies Club) [OKP]. Jerzy Orzel (OKP) maintained that delaying work on the bill amounted to economic sabotage and undermined the work of the government. [passage omitted]

The Sejm voted to keep the order of the day by 185 votes to 177. [passage omitted]

The Constitutional Commission Has Been Formed

The difficulties in forming the Constitutional Commission finally came to an end. A consensus was reached which enabled the inclusion of Stanislaw Jasinski, a representative of the new Polish Peasant Party onto the commission. [passage omitted]

Nevertheless, the fate of the commission hung in the balance up to the final moment. The decentralist movement taking place in the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Deputies Club caused Jozefa Hannelowa to question the political composition of the commission, and she proposed a motion that the whole matter be adjourned. [passage omitted]

The Sejm rejected the motion by 280 votes to 38.

We have an Amnesty

This long, drawn-out process, full of discussion and polemics, and set against a background of prison protests, finally reached its end. The feared constitutional crisis was averted. The Sejm manifested healthy common sense and restraint, which cannot be said for the Senate. The Senate's amendments, which would have widened the applicability of the statute to lapsed offenders, burglars, and violent offenders, were rejected by an overwhelming majority. [passage omitted]

From all the Senate amendments, the Sejm only accepted two, namely, that the courts will discontinue all criminal proceedings where it appears from the circumstances of the case that the maximum sentence would not exceed 2 years (intentional offense), or 3 years (unintentional offense). Despite excluding murderers from the umbrella of the amnesty provisions, in the event of a death sentence being passed, such a sentence will now be commuted to 25 years imprisonment. [passage omitted]

Without Complications

The most important matter in the draft legislation entitled "On the restoration of employment rights to persons who have lost their employment because of union, self-management, political, or religious activity" was not the name of the proposed statute, but agreeing on the relevant time limits of nonemployment in computing the length of continuous employment and the legal consequences stemming from this. Deputy Teresa Liszcz, representing the position of the Sejm Social Policy and Legislative Commissions, criticized the Senate's suggestion that the time limit to be counted in computing the length of employment should end "3 months after the day when the regulations enabling successive employment come into force."

The Sejm accepted Teresa Liszcz's proposal by 289 votes. [passage omitted]

At the end of the session, deputy Wladyslaw Serafin officially informed the chamber that 94 various deputies had decided to form an "agricultural lobby."

Sejm Discusses Militia, Security Forces 12 Dec

LD1412103989 Warsaw PAP in English 2245 GMT
12 Dec 89

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 12—The Sejm Administration and Internal Affairs Committee today acquainted itself with a report on conditions and cadre situation in the militia and the security service.

Internal Affairs Vice Minister Zbigniew Pudysz told the Sejm that the situation was further deteriorating. At the end of October there were 23 thousand vacancies, 26.5 percent of which in Warsaw, 21 percent in Gdansk, 19 percent in Katowice. Organizational and functional changes are under way in both services which meet halfway social expectations. This also pertains to the possibility of setting up trade unions in the Internal Affairs Ministry.

The Sejm postulated a radical separation of the militia from the security service, a change of the militia's name to State Police to be supplemented at the local level by a so-called municipal police subordinate to local self-government bodies, and a profound de-politicalization of the ministry.

Finance Minister's Sejm Report 17 Dec

LD1712171489 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1015 GMT 17 Dec 89

[Speech by Finance Minister Leszek Balcerowicz at meeting of Polish Sejm in Warsaw—live]

[Text] Mr Speaker! May it please the House! The government entrusted me with the honorable task of presenting to the House proposals of great significance. Sejm decisions on matters which the documents being submitted concern, in fact, will determine the implementation of breakthrough changes in the Polish economy. They will open for every citizen and for all of Poland new prospects for a dignified life, free development, and fruitful, satisfying work.

Council of Ministers Chairman Tadeusz Mazowiecki, while presenting the new government's program in September, spoke about the need to halt the destructive inflation and to restructure the economy and base it on models that have been tested.

This need was reiterated by the further development of the economic and social situation. The system inherited from our predecessors can no longer exist. It has become the source of disintegration of the economy, disorganization and degradation of life, and dehumanization of interhuman relations.

Polish society understands this. Society's support for the government and for the social forces backing it, despite the difficult living conditions, is beholden to this understanding. Our proposal is an economy based on market mechanisms, with an ownership structure which occurs in highly developed countries and which is open to the

world; an economy whose rules are clear to everyone, when it is the abilities, knowledge, talent, skilled hands, and willingness to work which count. One must end the fake game of people pretending that they are working and the state pretending that it pays them. The alternative we are proposing is real life instead of a pretend one.

For the first time for many years the aims set for society are clear and pragmatic. They were not invented in 19th Century doctrines, but they are concrete aims and are perceived as such beyond the Baltic Sea and the Elbe River. Societies whose institutions and solutions we want to implement are not ideal and free from difficulties but they do have the conditions in which to develop and to solve their problems on their own.

We are aware of the fact that the fundamental restructuring of the economic system will be implemented in extremely difficult conditions. Lasting systemic faults that are the result of the extremely irrational system of managing the economy of many years form especially part of these conditions. The accumulation of the effects of these faults and the errors of the economic policy of the previous government have contributed to the exceptionally bad results of this year. A dramatic acceleration of inflation has taken place. The economic imbalance has deepened. There has been a fall in production and supply of goods. The budget deficit has been disastrous. The dramatic economic situation at the end of this year is also marked by such phenomena as a decline in the national income, a reduction—the greatest for 10 years—in the number of apartments handed over for use, a decrease in the coal extraction output, and a reduction in animal production output. The living conditions of people, including the poorest groups, are more difficult. The emigration of the young continues. Ecological conditions are deteriorating.

The efforts of the government since mid-September have made it possible to halt or to limit some of the unfavorable processes. The increasing trend of the budget deficit has been halted. The increase in the population's incomes stopped to precede the increase in prices. The financial situation of many enterprises has improved. Nevertheless, the conditions in which the program of changes is starting are still very unfavorable, or even dramatic. However, it must be clearly said: Waiting will not improve the conditions but will make them even more difficult. The Polish economy is seriously ill. An operation is needed: a deep surgical cut to remove inflation which is devastating the economy.

May it please the House, when talking about undertaking such operation, we must be aware of the fact that society will agree to it and—what is a fundamental condition—will undertake the process of transformations itself when both the long-term aims and the anticipated effects of the restructuring of the economic system are clear to it. Thus, what are we expecting? What will this process give to the people?

We would like this process to lead us to a situation which is regarded as normal in developed countries of the world and which in our country hitherto has been regarded as an inaccessible ideal.

Such a situation occurs when people are rewarded for their hard work, enterprising spirit, and abilities to put their talents to good use, when their work is used in such a way that it brings profit and satisfaction, when the results of this work are not wasted but allocated, according to the will of the country's citizens, for the development of the civilization of the country, its cultural achievements, and for the protection of life and man's natural environment.

Ladies and gentlemen, the extremely difficult starting situation forces us to undertake measures simultaneously on two platforms: the platform of extensive systemic changes and the platform of fast stabilization measures. We know well that all citizens of our country are awaiting, above all, the effects of the announced change in the economic system. However, for the time being, we must apply the tough logic of the process of transformation which was initiated in Poland the moment Tadeusz Mazowiecki's government was set up. It is not possible to construct a lasting building of the national economy without ensuring stable foundations for it in the form of a strong currency. For this reason, stabilization measures should be given precedence. Priority should be given to the rapid elimination of inflation and restoration of economic balance. Already now, galloping inflation makes many economic measures pointless, makes citizens adopt a wrong approach and attitudes, and makes effective switching to a new system of managing the economy impossible. Allowing this situation to remain unchanged would mean permitting such a hyperinflation when prices would rise from day to day. This would mean a total breakdown of the economy.

Counteracting inflation takes place in accordance with certain rules. It must take place quickly and resolutely in a concentrated and universal manner and it must embrace the entire national economy and society.

It should take place quickly because rescheduling in time the struggle against inflation leads to failure. In the world economy we do not know a slow process for overcoming with a positive result such enormous inflation. Apart from that, there are justified fears that the reserves of society's patience—which, in fact, is limited—could soon be exhausted when this tedious process is protracted.

It should be done in a concentrated manner because the policy of strict curbing of income increases is inadequate. The entire economic policy must contribute to the struggle against inflation in this decisive period. This means balancing the budget, balancing the demand and supply of credit money, stabilizing rates of exchange of foreign currencies, and so forth.

Relaxing one link results in endangering the remaining links by excessive tension and, as a consequence, in their

failure as a whole. Such a program of fighting inflation is difficult for society. Reducing the amount of money in circulating and reducing demand will, therefore, lead to insolvency of some enterprises and to their bankruptcy, to emergence of local unemployment, and to emergence of a temporary decline in manufacturing output. Such phenomena, together with an inevitable increase in prices at the beginning of the new year, will result in a temporary reduction in the living standard of the population. I know about it, we know about it, and we do not intend to conceal it from anyone. However, there is no other solution and, even more so, because such difficulties, also on an even larger scale, would appear if any other means were applied. So, you must answer the question: What is better—to live constantly with high inflation in a situation of growing chaos or to agree to hardships at a certain time in order to live later in a country with a stable and normal economy?

We must also explain here that the so-called pay in real terms is a notion transferred from countries having market economies. In our present conditions, the real pay is not fully real. The living standard is determined by the extent of real consumption of market goods and services and not by what we could theoretically buy for our wages.

We have experienced this several times in recent years when the government made decisions on increasing wages, which were not followed by an appropriate increase in supply of market goods. Lines grew longer. Profiteering and the black market flourished. The fact that you have money does not mean that you can make an intended purchase. Pay in real terms is the part of our pay for which goods and services can be purchased.

May it please the House, the line of action I have presented here is expressed in government documents being submitted for discussion today. These documents can be divided into two groups. The first group is draft acts submitted to the parliament annually. They are: the budget bill, the balance of payments of the state, the balance of the population's money incomes and expenditure, the credit plan, guidelines for the credit policy and the bills on the culture development, the professional incentive and science and technology development funds. The second group contains draft laws introducing changes in the economic system. That is, they are changes in the financial management of state enterprises, in the principles according to which economic activity is conducted in Poland in small-scale industry by foreign legal and physical persons and in economic activity with the participation of foreign subjects, in the taxation principles, in the law on the National Polish Bank, in the currency and customs law, in the law on employment and on special conditions on terminating contracts of employment with employees for reasons concerning work enterprises [as heard], in the principles of organizing credit conditions, and in laws on taxation on legal persons for increasing wages, and also in law on counteracting monopolist practices.

Changes in the budget system mean the elimination of the deficit, above all, by reducing the present enormous amount of subsidies. The share of subsidies in budget expenditure should be reduced by more than half, from 31 percent in 1989 to 14 percent in 1990. The number of subsidized groups of goods and services will be reduced. Subsidies for the municipal and housing economy, municipal and intercity transportation, coal, bread, low-fat milk, and curd cheese will be maintained, although on a reduced scale.

Expenditure on central investment projects, particularly long-term and capital intensive projects, and expenditure on public security and national defense will be reduced. Financing from the budget of the statutory activity of sociopolitical organizations will cease, with the exception of cases when the organizations implement tasks delegated by the state. The source for financing these organizations should be incomes from member contributions, funds, and economic activity. The number of the so-called special aim funds which ensure the financing of certain expenses from state funds, in a way outside the budget, will be curbed.

The budget will be balanced not only through reducing expenditure but also through efficient recovery of money owed. This means, above all, the need to introduce changes in the taxation system. The idea is both to make real the (?amounts) which are indispensable in the conditions of high inflation and to reduce the extent and scope of tax relief which, in effect, constitute hidden subsidies.

The application of a highly developed system of tax concessions would, in essence, lead to the creation of costly fiscal privileges. Economic units which maintain such concessions achieved them, after all, at the cost of the rest, reducing their development possibilities. At the same time, we ought to stress that these concessions influenced only to a small degree the desired behavior of economic subjects. It is enough here to point, say, to the example of concessions resulting from improvements in quality, whose application was not, after all, marked by positive results. A move away from extended tax concessions and anyway in a direction in which the rational economies of developed countries are going [sentence as heard]. Tax concessions, however, will be applied to a certain extent in such important social spheres as protection of the environment, the production of materials and products for housing construction, or the introduction of scientific and technological progress.

The great emphasis on the restriction of budget expenditure does not mean that we are totally moving away from the application of subsidies, constituting one of the elements of state intervention in the economic sphere. Taking into account the importance of agriculture, the government intends to maintain subsidies aiding biological progress, technology, agricultural production, scientific research in this field, and the development of the economic and social infrastructure in rural areas. A

discussion of the most important intentions of the government in this sphere is to be found in the assumptions for agricultural policy in 1990, which were submitted for examination by the esteemed house by the Council of Ministers.

The scope of goods covered by turnover tax will be expanded, including products sold in Poland for hard currency and also private import. Tax changes in 1990 will constitute the introduction to a fundamental reform of the tax system in coming years. The basis for fiscal and credit policy must be adapting the volume of money to the possibilities of the economy, and so, a break with the illusion that problems can be solved by amassing money. This also concerns credits. The interest rate must, therefore, balance the demand for credits with their supply, resulting from the size of bank deposits. A positive interest rate also must compensate for the effects of inflation. In this situation, it is imperative to move away from the hitherto (?widely) applied preferential setting of interest on credits. This is because it erases the difference between subsidizing and giving credit. In justified cases, the backing of economic subjects will occur straight from the budget and not through the banks.

To restore health to fiscal policy, it is extremely important to immediately separate the central bank from the budget. It is precisely this change which we are proposing in the draft law submitted to the esteemed House. Its acceptance will put an end to the possibilities of financing the budget deficit through the issue of money without backing.

We are ascribing new functions to price policy. Marked inconsistency hitherto has prevailed in this area. On the one hand, we had to cope with the wide range of free-market prices; on the other, many prices of the basic means of production were administratively blocked, motivated by the needs of the struggle against inflation. In reality, this was a struggle against the symptoms of this disease and not with the disease itself. The continuation of this policy would lead to something which everyone knows very well: lines in the market; shortages of goods and chaos; bad price structure in the system of the functioning of the economy; and an incorrect economic calculation. Currently, the basic element of the price policy will be liberalization. The freeing of prices with the simultaneous intensification of financial policy ought to allow us to eliminate universal shortages. The government, however, does not intend to resign from the control of prices, with the aid of antimonopoly legislation.

For the process of inflation, the overcoming of inflation, not to be too prolonged, we ought from the very beginning to make realistic the hitherto substantially reduced prices of coal and power and other basic economic commodities. They must be raised to a level whereby they could for a certain period be stable and so not stimulate the further increase of other prices. The most

difficult period for incomes policy occurs within the first, decisive stage of the anti-inflation operation.

It is necessary to ensure that pay rises and other incomes be clearly lower than price rises. The freezing of pay rises is necessary for the money and market equilibrium. The issue is that people's financial resources do not exceed the value of the goods and services available on the market. The stopping of pay rises is also necessary for social reasons, although it may seem paradoxical. Experiences of the past years indicate that enterprises trying to keep their staff give them pay rises, even if later they do not have the resources for development or settling their obligations. In the conditions of the strict financial policy which we must carry out, such actions would lead to a large number of bankruptcies and following that unemployment and fall in material production. So if we did not stop pay rises it would contribute to the fall in supply with all social consequences. The incomes policy proposed today is made even more difficult by the fact that so far they have always been rescued at the last minute and now neither managements nor crews are prepared for the new situation. Intensive stopping of pay rises however is only temporary. The period of its duration depends, most of all, on the extent of inflation.

May it please the House, the stabilizing of the economy will allow for efficient implementation of systemic changes. If the esteemed House passes and the Senate confirms the proposed package of laws, then in 1990 detailed solutions in this scope will be made specific and their implementation will begin. Above all, one must list here intentions aiming at the transformation of the ownership structure of the economy. Changes in this scope obviously cannot take place immediately. It is necessary, however, to take advantage of huge resources of motivation for efficient work, resources that are connected with the feeling of ownership. (?Gradual) but decisive restructuring of the ownership structure will bring about the situation in which state enterprises for a long time will play a significant role in the Polish economy. Therefore, they will have an indispensable legal and economic independence. Work on legal and organizational forms of these enterprises will be carried out. Changes also will be made in their economic and financial system, changes that are similar to changes in other economic spheres.

At the same time, solutions are being prepared that will make it possible to carry out an extensive privatization of state property to be carried out by public sale of shares in enterprises. We envisage at the same time giving preference in the buying of shares to employees of these enterprises. Preference also would be given to other persons acquiring a small number of shares.

The emergence of communal property as a separate entity will be an important element in the property transformation. This will be connected with the emergence of true territorial self-government and thus will create conditions to give full independence of the communities of towns and parishes. Also, there will be

significant changes in the cooperative movement, which will create conditions for authentically independent activity by various cooperatives.

The changes in property ownership and, following this, organizational changes in the economy will be conducted with energetic combating of the monopolistic structures and practices. The proposals for relevant solutions have been included in the draft law submitted to the Sejm. Here, the point is in particular to prevent the collusion of economic units which would eliminate competition and to counteract production and trade aiming at increasing prices. The effectiveness of these actions should increase owing to the creation of the independent antimonopoly office.

The introduction of the new economic order depends to a large extent on the function of money in the economy. That is why it will be so important to continue the reconstruction of the banking system. It will involve, above all, supporting the creation of commercial banks including the network of local banks. We hope that the newly created banks, including those with foreign capital participation, will become a factor encouraging the development of the Polish banking system.

The unified exchange rate of currency will be an important element of the system changes. It will make it possible to achieve the internal convertibility of the zloty. The administrative rationing of foreign currency therefore will be abolished. The rates of exchange, in connection with the whole economic policy, will be shaped in such a way as to contribute to the rapid control of inflation. An additional safeguard will be a stabilization fund, amounting to approximately \$1 billion, the award of which we are expecting in the next few days. I trust that this fund will be made available soon enough and with conditions corresponding to the pace and significance of measures being undertaken by Poland and the declarations made several times by Western countries.

The new policy of exchange rates will allow it to carry out an evaluation of the true effectiveness of foreign trade. In this situation, the need for export concessions will disappear. The system of subsidies will be maintained only in relation to the turnover with CEMA countries because the zloty's exchange rate against the transferable ruble will not be shaped at the level of its balance. [sentence as heard] Together with the internal convertibility of the zloty will be a liberalization in foreign trade, by limiting the list of goods which require concessions, alleviating the rules on issue of permits on export and import, and unifying the customs tariff.

Negotiations are coming to a close with IMF representatives. In the near future, a so-called letter of intent should be signed, containing the decisions associated with the adjustment program for 1990. I wish to stress that its basis is the economic program of the government, presented in October 1989. The acceptance of the

adjustment program by the IMF authorities is the condition for gaining access to the international credits of financial organizations, that means the IMF itself, the World Bank, and also foreign aid organized on a wide scale. This help should make possible the partial amelioration of the effects of the restoration of internal equilibrium and also contribute considerably to the reduction of the burden of debt servicing.

We will seek, in accord with our creditors, the full postponement of repayments falling due in 1990. We also will undertake negotiations with the aim of reducing indebtedness. The condition for the effective change of the structure of Polish industry and also the growth of its production is foreign credit support and also the facilitation of access to modern technologies. The governments of many countries have declared they will grant us credit guarantees to finance import of supplies and also investments. Access to credits on preferential conditions also has been declared. The exploitation of all these credit facilitations will demand significantly greater responsibility from the takers of credit than has been the case in the past.

The creation of a favorable climate of aid for Poland on the part of highly industrialized states has been favored by the acceptance by the U.S. Congress of a program on this matter. It contains decisions on the amelioration of the burden of our debt servicing, the shaping of a favorable stance toward Poland by the IMF and the World Bank, support for the stabilization program, and the development of private initiative in Poland.

The EEC and the Council of Europe also have come forward with initiatives for economic aid. An important form of aid is the facilitation of access to the markets of Western countries for Polish goods, participation in the training of Polish specialists, the preparation of economic experts' reports, and cooperation in environmental protection. We have already gained help in food supplies and in access to certain credits. More significant sums will strengthen our economy gradually, in the coming years, conditional on the successful implementation of the economic program.

They must be exploited to make our economy competitive on the world market. Such a possibility should also be created by the [word indistinct] to Poland of funds in the framework of various kinds of aid and the influx of foreign capital on sovereign conditions specified by us. An indispensable condition is, however, that galloping inflation is overcome and that normal economic conditions are created. No serious foreign entrepreneur will do business in a country that is disorganized through inflation.

May it please the House, the new conditions that will be created by the change of economic system that is being proposed show the need for the formulation of a new social policy to protect society against the burdens of the stabilization program and to achieve a better quality of life. It will be based upon a significant growth in the

importance and breadth of initiatives and local resources, also a smaller than hitherto interference of the state, and a limited involvement of the central budget.

The basic priority in the social policy of the state in 1990 will be the defense of social security. This means the strengthening of the system of welfare protection serving to shield the families that are economically weakest, pensioners, annuity holders, those temporarily unemployed. It is obvious that coming times will demand from everyone the appropriate participation not only in the benefits flowing from economic and market values. They also will demand a surrender to the obligations and even rigors resulting from their principles. It can also not be denied that they will demand from those working an effort corresponding to their material aspirations.

Yet no one should feel threatened as to the material bases for his existence. The system of social security payments has been left untouched and resources for the welfare items in the budget are growing faster than other incomes. The main areas of welfare protection will be: first, the reform of the system of welfare aid to link more closely its organizations with local government, the direct and specific (?advance) of payments, the starting up of authentic civic activity for the sake of those most in need; second, the maintenance of quarterly revaluation of pensions and annuities, relative to the envisaged growth of remunerations in the socialized economy in successive quarters, and also more beneficial than hitherto principles for the establishing of minimum pensions and annuities; finally, third, a system for effective help for persons being temporarily without work. Eventual group redundancies undoubtedly will create a new, materially and above all psychologically difficult situation for people who will experience these redundancies. The Labor and Social Policy Ministry is preparing a package of measures for this difficult circumstance, which takes advantage of the experiences of highly developed countries in counteracting unemployment and assuring effective and fast material and training assistance.

Moreover, it is worthwhile to point out social aspects of ownership transformations which in 1990 will gain legal basis and will begin to come into force. The possibility of purchase of stakes and shares by significant social groups, workcrews included, will serve toward fulfilling their life ambitions and in the future toward increasing income.

May it please the House, the change we are making is a breakthrough. It has a unique character. We have a pioneering role. The world looks at Poland with attention. Deciding on this step, we realize its unrepeatable character and dangers, but at the same time we are fully convinced about the reality of this task, about its social righteousness. The opportunity ahead of us must not be wasted. We realize that social trust is connected with the expectation of concrete, wise, and fast action. People will not forgive our sluggishness. The situation in the world is also changing. When the government was installed, it

worked under conditions different from today's. The development of events in Europe carries hope but challenges too. We are glad of democratic changes in other countries in Central and Eastern Europe because they also strengthen the (?movement of international) solidarity. However, we will have to keep pace with the increase of economic and political power of our partners, especially that of our Western neighbors. We want to be a strong partner for the whole of Europe, East and West, whose interests are not only perceived but observed. Therefore, and moreover, any delay in economic changes can constitute an unforgivable mistake.

The laws presented to the esteemed House contain solutions which create a basis for healing the economy and propose to cut the period of suffering due to the tempo of changes to the minimum. This work has been done in a very short time, the more so, when one takes into consideration the necessity of wide international contacts and agreements required to ensure the efficiency of the government's economic program. I ask the esteemed House that extraordinary circumstances be taken into consideration and that the House assess the proposed laws before the end of this month. These dozen or so days may decide our future years.

I am aware that this will mean concentrated and speedy work which may have a negative effect on the formal quality of the documents. It appears, however, that in this situation not fully perfected solutions which have been applied at the right time are better than documents that are faultlessly prepared but overdue.

May it please the House, I wish to thank the deputies and senators most sincerely for their assistance and understanding to date for the government in the period of working on the economic program. This program is certainly a difficult one: difficulties alongside the catastrophic economic situation; behavioral habits and the attitudes of people that were shaped during the period of the state's economic monopoly and the lack of democracy in public life; shortages of simple economic reserves; the training of a section of staff which does not meet the qualities of the program; uncertainty as to the quantity and time of arrival of foreign assistance, indispensable in the initial period.

There are, however, also positive aspects which, in my opinion, predominate. These include, above all: courage, solidarity, and the selflessness of the public; its will to achieve changes in Poland; its political wisdom, manifested particularly in recent years; the high qualifications and skills of the young generations; and advantageous external conditions. This is the capital with which we are starting.

Conditions for the favorable restructuring of the economy also exist. These include the further progress of democracy and the ability of various political formations to cooperate to achieve a superior goal. We are also counting upon that which is most important: understanding and an active stance by the public, particularly

in the difficult transitional period. The government has up to now experienced such understanding. Society, despite the growing problems of daily life, the danger and uncertainty of tomorrow, has given its confidence to the government, confirming its highly commendable solidarity. This is proof of the enormous possibilities of our society, which in conditions of freedom and sovereignty is capable of achieving even the most difficult goals.

The strength of Polish society and the conviction that we have a well-aimed program are the source of the confidence and belief of the government. People want and need the Poland which we are proposing. We need therefore consistency and joint effort to create such a Poland.

Thank you for your attention. [applause]

National Bank President Addresses Sejm 17 Dec
LD1712212189 Warsaw PAP in English 2030 GMT
17 Dec 89

["National Bank President's Sejm Address—summary"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 17—Presenting a draft for the credit plan with assumptions for the finance and credit policy for 1990 in the Sejm today, Wladyslaw Baka stated that the draft had been discussed by the Council of Ministers which voiced no objections to it. It indicates full consistence of the policy proposed by the National Bank of Poland (NBP) with the government's economic programme.

The weak position of the zloty and its rapid depreciation exerts destructive influence on economy, Baka said. We are facing today a great chance to favourably accomplish the task of healing the currency. With a view to that new principles and directions of economic policy are outlined.

While presenting the goals of finance policy for 1990, Baka stated that they cover in particular such tasks as overcoming hyperinflation, stabilizing purchasing power of the currency and gradual implementing full convertibility of the zloty.

Baka characterized three major directions in that policy.

1. The practice of emitting empty money is being finally given up. It is proposed to legally eliminate a possibility of the government's drawing credits from the NBP. Purchasing by banks short-term treasury bills on commercial principles should be the only possible form of financing surpluses in the current expenditures of the central budget.

2. The banking system should actively stimulate savings and efficiency of their usage in the form of credits profitable for all: for people saving money, for debtors,

for banks and for the whole society. The rule of tangibly positive interest rate both for savings and credits should be made inviolable.

3. In tune with the government's economic programme the so-called internal convertibility of the zloty will be introduced as of January 1990. It is an absolutely new phenomenon in the functioning of economic system. Ensuring continuity of currency sales to all who want to make import purchases would be conducive to greater credibility and to long-term rationalization of the economy.

Wladyslaw Baka stressed that the Council of Banks considers the assumptions of payments balance for 1990 in the currency zone of socialist countries as defined correctly.

According to the Council also the plan for payments balance in convertible currencies correctly reflects the present state of economic relations with western countries and new elements that have emerged following the reorientation of the west's policy towards Poland.

The year of 1990, Baka continued, is envisaged as a year of normalization in financial and credit relations with the West. Next year Poland's debt will considerably grow—from 39.6 billion dollars to 43.2 billion, that is by 3.6 billion dollars.

Baka said that in the years 1981-1989 a total of 8.5 billion dollars came in to Poland, while 19.1 billion left it, despite the fact the debt is still growing and will continue to do so rapidly. Such is the irrevocable logic of the compound interest.

Sejm Discusses Restructuring Economy 17 Dec
LD1712223189 Warsaw PAP in English 2102 GMT
17 Dec 89

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 17—A several-day Sejm sitting to discuss economy, the government's economic policy and draft laws, budget law for 1990 including, started here today, for the first time even on Sunday. The drafts aimed at stabilizing economy and its deep restructuring.

The Sejm commemorated in silence the victims of December 1970 and of martial law, miners from the "Wujek" coal mine among them.

Kozakiewicz's Opening Address

We are facing the necessity to take decisions whose effectiveness depends on radicalism and consistency of solutions and on their promptness, the Sejm speaker said. Therefore, we have to act on a special procedure and in shorter time.

Debate on Economy

Vicepremier Leszek Balcerowicz opened debate on economy. He presented the government's proposal defining it as an economy based on market mechanisms,

with ownership relations similar to those in highly industrialized countries, open to the world, guided by rules clear for all.

The quota of money in circulation totalled 2.6 trillion zloties at the end of last year, president of the National Bank of Poland Wladyslaw Baka said. The money circulation growth during each of the last four months amounts to some 1.2 trillion zloties. The volume of money circulation at the end of this year will reach some 10 trillion [passage indistinct]

Deputies' Questions

Several dozen deputies asked questions connected with the government's proposals.

Deputies were mainly concerned about social effects of the government's programme stemming from the conception of full play of market forces in economy.

Numerous deputies were agitated by the vision of unemployment.

Does the state budget have sufficient reserves of convertible currencies? What will be the conditions of foreign assistance? What measures will the government take to protect the national assets against being bought out by foreign capital? were among other deputies' questions.

The vicepremier was also asked about alternative solutions in case the major programme is endangered. The essential question about convergence of the government's programme with the Round Table settlements was also asked.

Most of detailed questions related to concrete economic and social solutions, for instance on the scale of the German capital share in Polish economy?

Members of the government answered the questions. Head of the Office of the Council of Ministers Jacek Ambroziak pointed out that for a longer time now the government has tried to provide society with full information on changes in the economic system.

Referring to the issue of a nuclear power plant in Zarnowiec (coastal Poland) Minister Tadeusz Syryjczyk expressed opinion that the decision should be taken by the Sejm after the government has presented experts' reports on it.

Several other government members answered the questions till late in the evening.

Draft laws on economic stability and on system changes in economy are to be considered by a Sejm special committee.

The debates will be resumed on Monday morning.

Economic Commission Members Approved

LD1712235189 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
2121 GMT 17 Dec 89

[Report on Sejm meeting in Warsaw—live]

[Text] [Sejm deputy speaker Olga Krzyzanowska] The last point on the agenda today is the senior members convention's proposal to appoint an extraordinary commission. If I hear no voices against, then I shall assume the proposal is accepted. I do not hear any, and so we go to the fifth point on the agenda: the appointment of the extraordinary commission for the consideration of the draft laws associated with economic stabilization and systemic changes in the economy. The senior members' convention took into account the resolutions of the relevant Sejm commissions and proposed the appointment of an extraordinary commission composed as follows:

The proposed composition of the commission is 43 persons, of which 14 are to be from the Citizens' Parliamentary Floor Group [OKP], 14 from the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR], 6 from the Polish Peasant Party [PSL]-Odrodzenie, 5 from the Democratic Party [SD], 1 from the Christian-Social Union [UChS], 1 person from the PAX association, 1 from the Polish Catholic-Social Union (PZKS), and 1 non-party person—in total 43 persons.

I will now read out the names, which were proposed by the senior members' convention as members of the extraordinary commission: Deputy Stanislaw Babinski, PZPR; Deputy Herbert Gabrys, PZPR; Deputy Jan Krzysztof Bielecki, OKP; Deputy Stefan Zielinski, SD; Deputy Barbara Blida, PZPR; Deputy Janusz Blaszczyk, SD; Deputy Andrzej Bratkowski, PZPR; Deputy Aniela Bukala, PSL-Odrodzenie; Deputy Michal Chalonski, OKP; Deputy Jan Dalgiewicz, PZPR; Deputy Anna Dynowska, SD; Deputy Ludomir Gozdzikiewicz, PSL-Odrodzenie; Deputy Jerzy Hopfer, UChS; Deputy Czeslaw Kastelik, PZPR; Deputy Marian Kedzierski, PSL-Odrodzenie; Deputy Jerzy Koralewski, OKP; Deputy Alicja Kornasiewicz, PSL-Odrodzenie; Deputy Jozef Kowalczyk, OKP; Deputy Jan Krol, OKP; Deputy Jacek Krzekotowski, PAX; Deputy Wladyslaw Krzyzanowski, PZPR; Deputy Teresa Liszcz, Non-party; Deputy Henryk Michalak, OKP; Deputy Krzysztof [surname indistinct], SD; Deputy Edward Nowak, OKP; Deputy Bogdan Osinski, SD; Deputy Ireneusz Pieta, OKP; Deputy Marek Pol, PZPR; Deputy Zbigniew Puzewicz, PZPR; Deputy Elzbieta Seferowicz, OKP; Deputy Ryszard Smolarek, PZPR; Deputy Grazyna Staniszevska, OKP; Deputy Stanislaw Stasiak, PSL-Odrodzenie; Deputy Maria Stolzman, OKP; Deputy Boleslaw Szkutnik, PZPR; Deputy Andrzej Wieczorkiewicz, PZPR; Deputy Jan Wrobel, PZPR; Deputy Zdzislaw Zabrzycski, PSL-Odrodzenie; Deputy Andrzej Zawislak, OKP; Deputy Jerzy Zdrada, OKP; Deputy Jerzy Zimowski, OKP; Deputy Ryszard [surname indistinct], PZPR; Deputy Wojciech Polak, PZKS.

That is the list of deputies proposed as the composition of the extraordinary commission.

Does anyone want to comment on this matter? No one. So, we move on to the vote.

All of the deputies in favor of appointing the extraordinary commission in the proposed makeup?

[Correspondent] There are 144 votes for the acceptance of this composition.

[Krzyzanowska] Who is against?

[Correspondent] There is one vote against.

[Krzyzanowska] Who abstained?

[Correspondent] Fifteen deputies abstained from voting for this [words indistinct].

[Krzyzanowska] Thank you. I state that the Sejm has appointed the extraordinary commission and has carried out the election of its composition. REF: LD1712223189 warsaw pap english 172102—sejm considers

economic situation

Sejm Economic Reform Measures Reported

LD1812061389 Warsaw PAP in English 2356 GMT
17 Dec 89

[By parliamentary reporter Jan Rozdzynski]

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 17—"The end of the epoch of real socialism" in the Polish economy and the start of the "post-socialist" era are assertions that could be heard in the corridors of the Sejm after addresses delivered by Vice-Premier and Finance Minister Leszek Balcerowicz and President of the Narodowy Bank Polski Waldyslaw Baka. They characterized the contents of a dozen or so government drafts of economic laws whose adoption still this year predicts crucial, not only economic, changes. Time factor forced the Sejm to reduce legislative process and to submit the draft to special committees so that 1990 could start under entirely new conditions created to reform the functioning of the economy.

"The system that we inherited after predecessors cannot exist any longer," Balcerowicz said. There is a need for a long-range structural changes and swift stabilizational steps. One of them is a programme of fighting inflation linked to a temporary drop in living standards. The draft laws contain such elements as:

- Equalization of the 1990 state budget together with reducing budgetary subsidies by half (from 31 to 14 per cent), limiting central investments, stopping giving subsidies for political and social organizations, coupled with the effective collection of taxes,
- A change in the system of taxation: drastic reduction in exemptions coupled with a simultaneous broadening of taxes on the turnover in exports and imports,

—Freeing prices from administrative rigours and their almost complete liberalization,

—Temporary arresting of the rise in wages (pending the fighting of hyperinflation,

—Privatization of the state property through the public sales of the enterprises' shares,

—The introduction of a uniform exchange rate of convertible currencies and the domestic convertibility of the zloty coupled with such additional safeguard as the stabilization fund amounting to one billion dollars,

—Supporting the setting up of commercial banks, also with the share of foreign capital,

—The government starting of negotiations in 1990 to reduce Poland's indebtedness.

It is beyond any doubt that perhaps a numerous category of temporarily unemployed people will emerge under these conditions. Pointing to the character of changes, unique on the international scale, the vice-premier confirmed government plans concerning welfare protection of the worst-off groups of the population.

Baka thinks that despite many ventures mentioned in the economic programme, Poland's debt with Western creditors would rise to 43.2 billion dollars by the end of 1990 (39.6 billion dollars now). The pursuing of a new money policy requires radical improvement in bank services. An increase in the mass of money is one of the causes of poor quality of these services. The value of money in circulation, that amounted to 2.6 trillion zloties at the end of 1988, will rise several times and amount to about 10 trillion zloties by the end of 1990. Over the past few months, the monthly rise in the money in circulation amounted to 1.2 trillion zloties.

Concern voiced in each of over one hundred questions asked the government after these statements can be boiled down to one question: How will individual citizens, families, social and professional groups and economic units "survive" the period of changes?

"Money, money and once more money, that is in short supply, is necessary for state interventionism," is an opinion by head of the Central Planning Office Minister Jerzy Osiatynski. A foreigner can buy an estate in Poland on the principles functioning from before World War II, that is only with the approval of the Interior Ministry, said Minister for Foreign Economic Relations Marcin Swiecicki. Minister of Culture and Art Izabela Cywinska thinks that as privatization advances, the so-called fund for the development of culture, accounting for 15 per cent of incomes of units of the socialized economy, will decrease. The government envisaged means for benefit for about 400,000 potential jobless people in the draft of its budget, stressed Vice-Minister of Wages and Social Welfare Jerzy Szepter. We count on means coming from the so-called eco-conversion of some debts, said Vice-Minister of the Protection of Natural Environment Roman Andrzejewski.

The so-called stabilized uniform currency rate, defining the exchange rate of the zloty to the dollar by the Narodowy Bank Polski, must be so as to prevent the too expensive imports and consequently the exclusion of many enterprises from economic life, Baka answered one of the questions. He added that the 2.5 time increase in the monthly imports are the minimum reserves that the state must have.

A peculiar summing up of the Sunday marathon of questions and answers in the Sejm was an address by Balcerowicz who said that it was impossible to precisely predict the course of economic processes next year, all the more so the emergence of unemployment. The vice-premier added that the government economic programme was not entirely compatible with the round table decisions because Poland's political and economic reality had changed.

Sejm Debates Economic Policy 18 Dec

LD1912070189 Warsaw PAP in English 2251 GMT
18 Dec 89

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 18—Today's meeting of the Sejm (lower house of the Polish parliament) was devoted to economic debate, the first one on such a scale in the Sejm of this term. One of the questions repeatedly posed by deputies was whether Vice-Premier Leszek Balcerowicz was convinced that society had been provided with proper information on planned economic moves.

A group of deputies and senators put forward an initiative to send congratulations to Poland's primate, Cardinal Jozef Glemp to mark the 60th anniversary of his birth. Also, Pope John Paul II will be sent Christmas greetings. The Sejm was informed that Glemp had appointed father Henryk Chudek to take pastoral care of parliamentarians.

Also today a government information centre started to operate in the Sejm.

Following are some opinions and proposals presented by deputies in the debate.

In Poland, there is no alternative to the market-monetary reform. For many years the old model taught society to assume attitudes of claims and also eliminated responsibility and initiative. Hence concern how to stimulate energy and initiative at present. What is really indispensable is radicalism. The government program is consistent, however, its consistency is frightening. It rather resembles an expert's report than a list of ventures taking into account the complicated realities.

The budget meets required criteria with the exception of financial support for the state agricultural policy. What was impossible for many years is becoming feasible. Poland again becomes an economically civilised country. However, the starting-point is highly unfavourable. Hence, the necessity to have emergency and cushioning solutions.

One of deputies was concerned with the one-year-period during which the zloty is expected to get stabilised. He made a reference to the one-year cycle of the reformatory program worked out by Wladyslaw Grabski in the 20's which the then Sejm had reduced to six months. The deputy proposed to accept a similar solution. In his opinion, to settle now the budget for the second half of 1990 is like fortune-telling. He appealed to the government and deputies to show common sense in making decisions on economic changes.

Tonight the Sejm started an agricultural debate. The point of reference was a report on assumptions of the agricultural policy for 1990, presented by Vice-Premier Czeslaw Janicki this morning.

The debate was opened by leader of the parliamentary caucus of the PSL "Odrodzenie" (Polish Peasant Party "Rebirth") Jozef Zych, who voiced a view that economic reforms and solutions prepared for next year did not properly take into account the specific character of agriculture. In his view the government does not follow settlements concerning the introduction of minimum prices it is supposed to guarantee. Those prices should ensure profitability of production to farmers, matching changing costs.

Deputy Jacek Szymanderski asked who is to pay the costs of overcoming the crisis and how to do it. Should it be countryside or urban areas, industry or agriculture, he wondered. Szymanderski stated he was under impression that the government wanted to lay an equal burden on sectors in question. To carry out reforms, one must decide about preferences, he added.

The debate will continue on Tuesday and be rather long as over 40 deputies asked to be allowed to take the floor.

New Law To Abolish Foreign Currency Exchange

AU1912094589 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish
9-10 Dec 89 p 2

[Report signed 'T.B': "Zloties For Hard Currency"]

[Text] A foreign currency bill was recently placed before the Sejm. Janusz Sawicki, vice minister of finance, told journalists at a meeting on 8 December that the government considers this bill to be one of the most important elements of the economic stabilization program that was agreed with the IMF.

The new foreign currency act calls for a partial convertibility of the zloty to hard currency. This applies mainly to the exportation and importation of goods and services by physical and legal persons. All export income will be paid in zlotys. Everyone will be entitled to buy things abroad in zlotys, according to a fixed rate of exchange to be announced by the president of the Polish National Bank.

The act calls for the retention of the population's foreign currency bank accounts in their present form. The foreign currency accounts of enterprises will also be

retained; however, as of 1 January 1990, our exporters will be obliged to sell their entire foreign currency earnings to the banks.

Minister Sawicki stressed that the convertible currency relaxation of foreign trade does not mean a relaxation of the rules concerning transfers of capital. For example, it will still not be permitted to transfer capital abroad.

One of the cornerstones of the new foreign currency act is the principle of a single currency. The settlement of accounts in foreign currency will be forbidden in Poland. One result of this will be the gradual elimination of hard-currency shops by the end of next year. The compulsory exchange of hard currency by foreigners will also be abolished. Foreigners will now be able to pay for all goods and services in zlotys, with the exception of international airline tickets.

The journalists were interested in the fate of the system of currency exchange booths. Minister Sawicki said that these would be preserved as a separate market sector. In practice, however, the Polish National Bank exchange rate will provide the lower limit for exchange rates offered by these booths.

The new act provides that Polish citizens will be able to order goods from abroad without restriction and pay for them in zlotys. However, before transferring the money to the foreign retailer, banks will insist on an appropriate document, such as a sales receipt. Therefore, advance payments for goods from abroad will not be possible. However, as Minister Sawicki explained, foreign mail order firms have only been demanding advance payments from Polish customers. Normally, these firms send out goods together with the bill. Therefore, the normalization of the foreign currency situation in Poland should lead to the disappearance of the need to pay for goods in advance.

One journalist asked about pensions paid from abroad. There will be changes to the advantage of the recipients, was the reply. They will receive the entire pension that is due to them, paid out in foreign currency.

However, Minister Sawicki avoided answering a question about the actual rate of exchange due to come into effect on 1 January. All he said was that the rate will have to be high enough to guarantee adequate supplies of foreign currency.

KPN Pickets PZPR for Equal Party Rights

LD1112225289 Warsaw PAP in English 2139 GMT
11 Dec 89

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 11—"Enough privileges for the PUWP" [Polish United Workers Party] reads one of the slogans displayed by a picket held in front of the Polish United Workers' Party (PUWP) headquarters here by the Confederation for an Independent Poland (KPN).

"Our protest has a nationwide range. Its aim is to draw society's attention to the fact that political parties still do

not have equal rights in Poland," Stanislaw Mazurkiewicz, head of the KPN Warsaw Chapter told PAP.

In another related development, the Labour Party and KPN held a rally in Bydgoszcz, Central Poland, to demand that the PUWP voivodship Committee relinquish its headquarters building to a local teachers' school.

The participants collected signatures under petitions to the Ministry of National Defence and the Ministry of Internal Affairs calling on the army to remove the military airfield from Bydgoszcz and appealing to the Interior Ministry to hand over a ministerial hospital to civilian administration.

Civic Movement Adopts Resolution 10 Dec

LD1112114889 Warsaw PAP in English 1924 GMT
10 Dec 89

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 10: Following is a resolution adopted at a conference of the Civic Movement which drew to an end today as presented to PAP:

Representatives of the Civic Movement gathered at the invitation of Solidarnosc Chairman lech Walesa and chairman of the Citizens Parliamentary Floor Group OKP, Bronislaw Geremek state the following:

The foundation of the social movement which put Poland on the road to transformations and caused that it is paving the way to democracy and independence also for people of other nations. Is the ethos of Solidarnosc. By this we understand both inter-human solidarity, the protection of the weak and needy, respect for work and difference of views, as well as solidarity in taking responsibility for the plight of the civic society, nation and state.

The movement of grass-roots initiative of citizens' committees stemming from these values is an important factor conducive to the development of democratic political and self-government structures. Citizens' committees should be open to various orientations and movements accepting the ethos of solidarnosc, and especially to represent the interests of local communities.

Citizens' committees should take active participation in preparing and carrying out elections to local self-government initiatives.

Those gathered express confidence in and support for Tadeusz Mazowiecki's government and ask the citizens to back the work of citizen's committees.

The Presidium of the Citizens' Parliamentary floor group states that in the present dramatic situation in penitentiaries. It sees no possibility for senators and deputies to engage in mediation efforts.

The Presidium of the OKP asks appropriate committees of both chambers of parliament to review the situation in the Polish prison system in the nearest future.

Founding Assembly of Democratic Youth Union

*LD1112000389 Warsaw PAP in English 1945 GMT
9 Dec 89*

[Text] Warsaw. Dec. 9—A founding assembly of the Union of Democratic Youth of the Central District debated here today. The debaters elected authorities of the new organization during the assembly's session.

We refer to the traditions of unions of democratic youth dissolved in Poland already three times, chairman of the

convention of the Union of Democratic Youth's central district Jacek Podgorski told PAP reporter.

We have about 8-9 thousand members on the national scale and will have the exact figure in two or three months time when we receive all questionnaires from all over Poland. Our programme is democracy in political life and social liberalism in economic life. Since December 1, we have been a candidate member of the International Federation of Liberal and Radical Youth headquartered in Brussels and the first organization from socialist countries admitted to the federation, Jacek Podgorski said.

Ceausescu Regime Falls; Manescu Assumes Power

*LD2212111889 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1100 GMT 22 Dec 89*

[Text] A few minutes ago, according to reports from Bucharest, the Ceausescu regime fell in Romania. The Front for the Salvation of the Homeland, which is led by Corneliu Manescu, former foreign minister, has announced that he has assumed power. According to a telephone report from Belgrade, President Nicolae Ceausescu has fled from the country, supposedly to Tehran. The demonstrators have also occupied the radio. A short while ago they read a statement that the Army had gone over to the side of people.

[Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian at 1108 GMT on 22 December states: "We have received a new report that former President Ceausescu is preparing to go to Beijing, and not to Tehran, after all"]

Further Report

*AU2212114889 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1138 GMT 22 Dec 89*

[Excerpts] This is Radio Belgrade, we are interrupting the children's program so that we can report the latest information from Bucharest. [passage omitted]

We have received the following report which says that Nicolae Ceausescu has escaped in a helicopter from the roof of the president's palace. This is reported by TANJUG's correspondent, Petar Tomic. He recalls that more than 4 decades ago Romanian King Mihail left from the same palace. Other details about the flight of Ceasescu are still not known.

In other news, a committee has been set up headed by former Foreign Affairs Minister Corneliu Manescu who has stated that he has taken power in the country.

Biography of Manescu

*LD2212142489 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1317 GMT 22 Dec 89*

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 22 (TANJUG)—Former Romanian Foreign Minister and President of the United Nations General Assembly Corneliu Manescu, who now heads the "Front for the Welfare of the Fatherland," is a key opposition figure in Romania.

Manescu, with another five former Romanian high officials, signed an open letter in March last year criticizing the policies of Nicolae Ceausescu. He has been under house arrest outside Bucharest since April and has not been allowed to receive medical attention although seriously ill.

Manescu was born in February 1916 in Ploesti. He joined the underground communist movement when he was a law student in Bucharest.

In the open letter to Ceausescu which was published by the Western press, Manescu warned of the grave situation in the country, of the "ineptness and incompetence of the government" and accused Ceausescu of discrediting the idea of socialism, isolating Romania from Europe and not honouring the Helsinki acts.

Establishment of National Democracy Committee

Committee Makeup

*AU2212174689 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1701 GMT 22 Dec 89*

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 22/12/1989—Friday, 22 December, at 16:30 hours, the National Democracy Committee was set up, the principal goal of which is to pave the way for a democratic life.

The prime minister and the government resigned.

The National Democracy Committee is made up of uncompromised military commanders, students who led the fight for the overthrow of the old regime, intellectuals.

Shortly after the setting up of the new organism, its members came out to the balcony of the CC [Central Committee] of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party] building to inform the tens upon tens of thousand citizens in the square, on a live radio and television broadcasting, about the resignation of the government, about the composition of the National Democracy Committee and about the measures proposed for the immediately ensuing period.

Controls Timisoara

*AU2212143589 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1405 GMT 22 Dec 89*

[Excerpt] Here is an interview that our colleague Milorad Denda conducted with the Yugoslav Consul in Timisoara, Mirko Atanaskovic:

[Begin Denda recording] We have the Yugoslav Consul General in Timisoara Mirko Atanaskovic on the line.

Comrade Atanaskovic, can you briefly tell us what the present situation is in Timisoara and what you know about the situation in the whole of Romania?

[Atanaskovic] Well, I can tell you that there are great celebrations in Timisoara, more than 120,000 elated citizens are hugging and kissing each other. They are celebrating a great victory and the fall of Ceausescu's regime. The people are delirous with enthusiasm and many have come to the General Consulate and kissed and hugged us and thanked us for Yugoslavia's support that was decisive in ensuring that the world knew about the truth about Romania and the events in Timisoara.

The Timisoara people are particularly proud that they have lit this great spark and this great torch of freedom which is now aflame throughout the whole of Romania.

We are also proud that we are Yugoslavs. It is wonderful to be a Yugoslav here at this moment. I can tell you that thousands and thousands of people have been shouting Yugoslavia and shouting Serbia and shouting friendship among our peoples.

Otherwise, the newly formed Democratic Committee, that is made up of citizens of all professions, is now in total control of the whole of Timisoara for the second day and it is now that new democratic structure that is beginning to appear in Romania.

Likewise, for the listeners of Radio Belgrade and the whole of the Yugoslav public, I can say that all Yugoslavs which we have been able to keep an eye on in these dramatic days are healthy and well.

'Social Justice' Program Announced

AU2212164589 Budapest AGERPRES in English
1610 GMT 22 Dec 89

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 22/12/1989—The Romanian Radio and Television broadcast the programme of the "Social Justice" group, which contains the following items:

- abolition of any cult of personality for good and all
- release of political detainees
- an end to the export and foodstuffs and their delivery to the home market
- abolition of the nomenclature shops
- cut of energy consumption in big industrial energy consumers and renunciation of savings to the detriment of the population
- an end to the security bodies' spying the population
- free traffic inside and outside the country
- independence of television, freedom of the press, of speech, abolition of censorship, freedom of the arts
- lifting on every other Sunday's ban on cars
- renunciation of gasoline rationalization
- a new system of food supply to the population
- revert to normal functioning of public services
- economic freedoms for small owners and farmers
- an end to the system of conditionings on the supply to farmers
- exclusion of political and ideological education from schools and faculties
- renunciation of the demographic policy and the liberalization of abortions
- an end to the demolition of villages

- right to free association former potentates' [as received]
- setting up of inquiry commissions to revise the homeland's history
- change of the country's name into "the republic of Romania"
- setting up of a commission of specialists to edit the country's constitution which should guarantee that never shall a dictatorship [as received]
- appointment of experts to manage ministries
- free elections.

Army Mutinies; Citizens Capture Party Headquarters

OW2212114089 Tokyo KYODO in English
1120 GMT 22 Dec 89

[Text] Tokyo, Dec. 22 KYODO—Romanian Army soldiers in Bucharest have thrown down their weapons and citizens have captured the communist party headquarters, Japanese Foreign Ministry officials said Friday.

Citizens are advancing toward the Palace of the Republic, the officials said, quoting reports from the Japanese Embassy in Bucharest. They said "the entire Armed Forces in Bucharest" have thrown aside their weapons to side with the protesters.

The report said a Japanese Embassy official saw citizens swarming into and capturing the communist party headquarters. The party flag and national flag have been taken down and replaced with the flag used by Romania before the communist takeover, it said. But the crowd did not enter the parliament building in front of the party headquarters, as guards there ordered them to stay away, it said.

Citizens are jumping atop tanks and heading toward the palace, the report said.

A cook watching from the vacated Japanese ambassador's residence has confirmed that soldiers have thrown down their weapons and said a group of tanks are headed toward the television station, according to the report.

A short time earlier, a broadcast made on the orders of Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu had declared a state of emergency covering the entire nation. Ceausescu's whereabouts were not known. The report said tens of thousands of citizens have massed on a main street in the capital. Police had earlier lined up in rows to protect the party headquarters. Under the state of emergency, a curfew is due to begin at 11 p.m. local time and gatherings of over five people have been prohibited.

The broadcast reportedly went on to say the Army's activities in quelling the turmoil were correct and necessary in order to defend the country's independence and sovereignty. It blamed the turmoil on the intervention of "imperialists" and called on the Romanian people not to be deceived by their lies.

Foreign Ministry officials said they have received reports that former Romanian Foreign Minister Corneliu Manescu has assumed a leadership role in the move against the government.

"We know that he seems to be acting as a new leader, but that doesn't mean he's taken over," an official said, speaking on condition of anonymity.

The official was commenting on a report by the French news agency AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE (AFP) that Manescu has announced that his group, the National Salvation Front, has seized power in Romania. The report quoted Western diplomatic sources.

[Tokyo KYODO in English at 1121 GMT on 22 December also carried the following "urgent" messages: "Manescu seized power in Romania, Foreign Ministry said." "Ceausescu has left Romania, BBC reported."]

Militia Leader Appeals For Order, Cooperation

*AU2212134689 Bucharest Domestic Service
in Romanian 1309 GMT 22 Dec 89*

[Text] I will ask the representatives of militia and security to take the floor. They have something very important to say. It is absolutely necessary that order be observed, in order that all these achievements which have come about so fast will not be quenched prematurely. Here you are.

I am General Campeanu, deputy chief of the General Inspectorate of the Militia, currently in charge of the country's militia.

I have ordered all troops to withdraw to their units, and that no weapons or force be used. Upon the recommendation, I believe that our country's militia can continue to participate in preserving order and discipline. In order to achieve this, I suggest that, as a sign of recognition, the militiamen should wear the tricolor on their left arms.

I want to stress, no incidents should be incited. At the same time, I do not want civilians to insist upon entering our units, so order can be preserved and to ensure that weapons are not used, so that no further incidents may occur.

I want the militia and traffic militia to continue to do their duty, so that they may make their contribution to the proper flow of traffic.

We will continue to give concrete orders at all militia units in accordance with the problems that arise there, to make our contribution to maintaining order and discipline in our country.

I insist that, in order for our military bodies to be able to do their duty, they should wear this distinctive insignia and, at the same time, our homeland's citizens should support them so that they can fulfill their duty.

I will then establish what orders I have to transmit and through which leadership of the General Inspectorate of the Militia I will do this.

Please report all problems that arise to the leadership of the General Inspectorate of the Militia. Please use all facilities available [word indistinct] to be up to the mark with all the problems and with all events and so that we can act as we have pledged. Let us make our contribution to preserve this exemplary order and discipline and to make our contribution to catch all those who have committed acts of vandalism.

Militaru Calls Return of Army to Garrisons

*AU2212144589 Bucharest Domestic Service
in Romanian 1213 GMT 22 Dec 89*

[Text] Many of you know me. I am Colonel General Nicolae Militaru. I could not stay aside during such a time and after such a crime that has been carried out in the Socialist Republic of Romania. I am sorry, very sorry that the Romanian Army has been drawn into this crime. If it proves true that the Army shot people, it means that it will be bad for the Army in general and for each unit commander and enlisted man, who carried out such an order. According to the information that is available to us, children, old people, women died; completely innocent people. In the short time available to me in front of this camera, I call on the comrade generals, who have responsibility functions in the Romanian Army: Comrade General Gusa, Comrade General Eftimescu, Comrade General Topliceanu, Comrade General Rosu, Comrade General Voinea, Comrade General Cintareanu, and all the others. I would like to also call on Comrade General Rusu: Halt the slaughter! Give orders to halt the slaughter! If a crime has been committed, let's stop it. I do not know what will happen. I am very sorry and certainly, those who have the authority will investigate the circumstances under which my friend, General Milea, the minister of national defense, has died. I do not know what kind of traitor he was or whom he betrayed or what he lied about. However, I categorically state that those, who in the future will be in charge, will bring light also to this issue.

Comrade General Gusa, Comrade General Voinea, we ask both of you to come urgently to the Radio Television Station, but, before you leave your workplace, give orders to halt everything and recall the Army to their garrisons.

Comrade Rusu, give the order that nothing should leave the Socialist Republic of Romania by air! I hope that you understand me very well!

I call on my colleagues and my friends, some of them generals at the Ministry of Interior: Comrade General Vlad, Comrade General Bucurescu, and the others, take appropriate measures to strengthen the line [as heard] of the Ministry of Interior. Halt the slaughter! No matter what happens, do not shoot! Recall the troops to garrisons! I call on the whole Romanian people! Brothers,

express your joy, but in a peaceful way, without devastating shop windows. Dance if you want but do not give any opportunity to be attacked for such things. If I have been understood, I would like to ask the comrades whom I mentioned to take note of what I said.

General Hortopan Appeals to Armed Forces

AU2212130289 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1245 GMT 22 Dec 89

[Text] In my function as active general of the Romanian Army and son of this people, I ask the Romanian Armed Forces to observe the country's laws, to honor the sacred oath toward the people and homeland, and to defend them against any provocations.

The Army is with the people. I want to ask the population to support the Army in the fulfillment of its mission.

It is the duty of the Army to defend the integrity and sovereignty, and will honor it at any price.

I demand that the forces of the Ministry of Interior in Sibiu stop immediately firing both at the people and the Army.

Tanks, Troops, Police Withdraw From Bucharest

AU2212110689 Paris AFP in English 1046 GMT 22 Dec 89

[Text] Bucharest, Dec 22 (AFP)—A National Salvation Front led by former foreign minister Corneliu Manescu announced Friday it had seized power in Romania, a Western diplomatic source said.

President Nicolae Ceausescu has fled, Radio Belgrade reported quoting the Tanjug correspondent in Bucharest.

Tanks, troops and the secret police had withdrawn, leaving central Bucharest to the thousands of demonstrators, an AFP correspondent reported.

The diplomatic sources said government ministers had left the Central Committee building and were heading for the residential areas where the president lived.

Ceausescu and Family Attempt To Leave Country

Reportedly Flees, Seeks Asylum

OW2212103489 Tokyo KYODO in English 1026 GMT 22 Dec 89

[Text] Vienna, Dec. 22 KYODO—Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu has begun preparations to seek asylum in China, the Austrian news agency APA reported Friday quoting Romanian police sources.

The embassy officials said they had heard a report that President Nicolae Ceausescu had been at the broadcasting station a short time earlier to declare a state of emergency.

They said soldiers on duty outside the embassy had thrown down their weapons, and there were reports that a crowd of 20,000 people had gathered in the capital.

Reportedly Flees by Helicopter

LD2212114189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1130 GMT 22 Dec 89

[Text] Bucharest, 22 Dec (TANJUG)—Nicolae Ceausescu escaped by a helicopter from the roof of the presidential palace, Petar Tomic, TANJUG correspondent, reports.

Call Made To Stop Ceausescu

AU2212123989 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1206 GMT 22 Dec 89

[Statement by unidentified speaker]

[Text] I have important news! Attention, Nicolae Ceausescu, the one who for a quarter of a century has sucked your blood and filled his palaces with our wealth, and the one who killed our children and brothers, is trying to run at this moment to Titu (?) Airport. Citizens of Arges County, Romanian Army try to catch the tyrant! (?Surround) the airport, he must be tried according to the laws of the country, the laws of humanity. Intercept the plane!

Do not forget esteemed friends, do not forget that there is justice and the justice will have its say!

I heard again that there are actions of vandalism, at least in Bucharest, we do not have any other connection with the rest of the country. Try to discipline yourselves, try not to answer to provocations! We are thinking thoroughly of the fact that there is also a tomorrow and a day after tomorrow, and we will need our stores, and we will need our factories, and we will need our work places. Understand it, do not answer to provocation and punish the looters. Nevertheless, we are afraid that somehow Nicolae Ceausescu, Elena Ceausescu, and Nicu Ceausescu will escape our punishment. Attention, the clique of traitors Bobu, Badea, Dinca, and attention those who served (indistinct word), Dascalescu, all these have to be caught, tried, and sentenced, even to death if it must be done!

Report on Possible PRC Flight

AU2212085489 Hamburg DPA in German 0826 GMT 22 Dec 89

[Text] Munich (DPA)—According to information from Bucharest intelligence service circles, Romania's head of state Nicolae Ceausescu is allegedly preparing to flee to China. As Doru Braya, an exiled Romanian who lives in Munich, told DPA on Friday [22 December], the building of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party has been secured with heavy artillery during the night. In their despair, callers from Bucharest have begged Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and U.S. President George Bush to come to Bucharest. "They will certainly not be shot."

According to Braya, newspapers all over the world are asked by desperate Romanians to publish this appeal in special editions, so as to put an immediate end to the massacre in their homeland, which has been going on for days now. In Bucharest many people have reportedly been killed. In two large enterprises there is "wild shooting." The armed units are also shooting through windows into the apartments of innocent people, he said.

Ceausescu 'At Large' in Romania

*AU2212130389 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1248 GMT 22 Dec 89*

[Report by TANJUG correspondent Petar Tomic]

[Text] The latest piece of news is that a certain People's Committee consisting of artists and military officers has learned that Nicolae Ceausescu is at large in Romania. At the airport in the place of [name indistinct], about 30 kilometers from Bucharest, he left the helicopter and set off in a red Dacia car with the licence plate 492-546. All citizens who notice anything are asked to report it and military units to act in the region of [word indistinct]

This is all of the latest news.

Ceausescu 'Hiding' at Heliport

*OW2212132089 Tokyo KYODO in English
1307 GMT 22 Dec 89*

[Text] Tokyo, Dec. 22 KYODO—Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu is in hiding at a Heliport outside Bucharest and will not be permitted to leave the country, a Romanian Army general said on state television Friday, according to Japanese Foreign Ministry officials.

Quoting reports from the Japanese Embassy in Bucharest, they said the general spoke as Ceausescu's Communist government was toppled by a wave of people power, supported by a military mutiny, following a bloody attempt to restore order.

The general reportedly said Ceausescu is in hiding at a military heliport 45 kilometers northeast of Bucharest, in an area called Titu.

The general said he has issued orders to the Army not to permit the fallen president's exit from the country "under any circumstances."

Ceausescu was earlier reported to have fled by helicopter from the roof of the communist party headquarters in Bucharest aboard a helicopter, and to be headed for either China or Iran.

The Japanese diplomats in Bucharest reported on the broadcast in a continuous telephone linkup with the Foreign Ministry in Tokyo.

Yugoslavia's TANJUG NEWS AGENCY reported that Ceausescu is still at the Heliport, according to the radio press news monitoring agency in Tokyo.

Demonstrators were calling for Ceausescu to be arrested and put on trial, it quoted the agency as saying.

Nicu Ceausescu Caught, Held

*AU2212155289 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1529 GMT 22 Dec 89*

[Text] (AGERPRES, 22 December)—The Romanian radio and television announce that, after having tried to take hostages, Nicu Ceausescu was caught and disarmed by locals. At present he is at an experimental station near Sibiu.

Ceausescu, Elena Reportedly Arrested

*LD2212135189 Hamburg DPA in German 1329 GMT
22 Dec 89*

[Text] Bucharest (DPA)—The Romanian state and party head, Nicolae Ceausescu, and his wife Elena, have been arrested. This was reported by the television station in Bucharest.

Ceausescu's Son Reportedly Arrested

*LD2212144989 Hamburg DPA in German 1343 GMT
22 Dec 89*

[Text] Bucharest (DPA)—Ceausescu's son Nicu has, also, been arrested after the Romanian state and party head Nicolae Ceausescu and his wife. This was reported by Bucharest television. It was said originally that Nicu was in the PRC.

Ceausescu's Fate 'Uncertain'

*AU2212150189 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 22 Dec 89*

[Text] Romania is finally free. However, the fate of the overthrown Romanian leader, Nicolae Ceausescu, is still uncertain. After the first unconfirmed report said that he has been caught, the Romanian Television has just said, a couple of minutes ago, that Ceausescu managed to flee in a white Dacia car. This has been stated by members of the Romanian security service.

According to reports we have received through TANJUG, Ceausescu's son Nicu has tried to take control over military forces in the place of Sibiu, but was prevented from doing so, it was said on Romanian Television.

According to the latest reports, the entire family has been arrested and will be tried by the people.

Ceausescu Arrested at Dirdoviste

*OW2212171089 Tokyo KYODO in English
1353 GMT 22 Dec 89*

[Text] Tokyo, Dec. 22 KYODO—Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu has been arrested at an airport northeast of Bucharest, Romanian television reported Friday, according to Japanese Foreign Ministry officials.

The officials quoted diplomats monitoring television at the Japanese Embassy in Bucharest as saying Ceausescu was reportedly arrested at the airport in Dirdoviste, some 150 kilometers from the capital.

Troops Loyal to People Battle Secret Police

*OW2212150289 Tokyo KYODO in English
1445 GMT 22 Dec 89*

[Text] Tokyo, Dec. 22 KYODO—Deposed Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu has escaped after being arrested at Tirgoviste Airport, Romanian television reported Friday, according to Japanese Foreign Ministry officials.

They quoted diplomats monitoring television at the Japanese Embassy in Bucharest as saying Ceausescu reportedly escaped after being arrested at the airport in Tirgoviste, some 150 kilometers northeast of Bucharest.

The fallen leader was reportedly heading by car in the direction of an oil refinery in Tirgoviste.

Diplomats said Romanian television also reported that the Army and the pro-Ceausescu secret police are engaged in major fighting around the southern Transylvanian city of Sibiu, some 200 kilometers northwest of Bucharest.

The broadcast called on other elements of the Army to reinforce their counterparts in the region as the secret police have the advantage.

Romanian television also warned citizens that the secret police have poisoned the water supplies in Sibiu and Timisoara, where security forces last weekend reportedly killed thousands of demonstrators.

Romania's 180,000-strong security forces are said to outnumber Army soldiers seven to one.

Television also said Ceausescu's son Nicu has been arrested.

Bucharest Radio on Worker Support for Ceausescu

*LD2212045789 Bucharest International Service
in English 0400 GMT 22 Dec 89*

[Text] In the presence of general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, President of the Republic Nicolae Ceausescu, a big public rally took place in Bucharest, at which speakers representing powerful workers' collectives in our capital city condemned the antisocialist, anti-Romanian actions which brought about the serious incidents in Timisoara. On behalf of the working people they represent, in consensus with the will of the entire nation, those who took the floor expressed their full adherence to and approval of the stand, assessment, and calls included in the speech delivered by President Nicolae Ceausescu over our radio and television stations on Wednesday [20 December] night.

Those who took the floor at this big public rally firmly rejected any attempt to attack the values of socialism and the revolutionary gains in Romania, the country's independence and sovereignty, expressing moreover their commitment to work tirelessly in a patriotic revolutionary spirit to ensure Romania's unabated advance on the road of socialist and communist construction.

It was pointed out that all those who worked day by day with love for their homeland, for its continued progress, have learned with deep indignation about the unfolding of the condemnable action with a terrorist, clearly fascist, and provocative character in the city of Timisoara, which had the overt aim of causing disorder with a view to destabilizing the political and economic situation in the country, to dismembering the national territory, to stopping the course of Romania's socialist development.

In these moments of outstanding seriousness, the working people of the entire country, closely unite around the party, its general secretary President Nicolae Ceausescu, vehemently condemn any attempt at revolutionary gains scored by our people at the integrity, independence, and sovereignty of socialist Romania.

Defense Minister Reportedly Commits Suicide

*AU2212093589 Bucharest Domestic Service
in Romanian 0859 GMT 22 Dec 89*

[Text] In Bucharest and throughout the country, the workers have to defend everything that has been achieved and our country's future, independence, and integrity.

We want to inform our listeners that the minister of the Armed Forces [reference to Defense Minister Vasile Milea] has been a traitor against Romania's independence and sovereignty and, realizing that this has been found out, he has committed suicide.

We appeal to all those who love their country and people to act with the greatest of determination against any traitors.

All rumors and lies were orchestrated in close cooperation with the traitors within the country and with the imperialist circles by the traitor Milea, who organized these provocations and lies and gave false information in connection with the situation in our country.

We call on the workers class, the peasantry, and intellectuals, and on all people to act with the greatest of responsibility to restore order and tranquillity.

Let us solve our problems in close unity, without any outside interference. Let us do all we can to defend the sovereignty, independence, and integrity of Romania.

Eyewitness Account of Situation in Timisoara

AU2212091589 Vienna Domestic Service
in German 0600 GMT 22 Dec 89

[Telephone interview with Gerhard Ludwig, a Romanian civil rights activist by Luis Glueck from Timisoara on 22 December—recorded]

[Text] [Glueck] A few minutes ago we managed to get a line to a resistance activist in Timisoara, namely 27-year-old electrical engineer Gerhard Ludwig. My question: What happened in your town yesterday, where the protest movement reportedly started with the protest against the arrest of pastor Laszlo Tokes and the subsequent bloodbath. What were the developments yesterday?

[Ludwig] This morning at four o'clock I went to the center to join a demonstration. There were more than 100,000 people from Timisoara and other cities. People kept joining us from parts of the entire country, who showed their solidarity for us. There were maybe 20,000 people from Oltenia who arrived here in trains, people who were actually mobilized by the regime to demonstrate against us. They were told that there were Hungarian and Yugoslav troops in the Banat region, which is of course not true, which is nothing but lies. So those people were meant to come here and demonstrate against us, or to cause trouble. Yet when they realized what was really at stake here, and that all the people were in the streets to demonstrate against the regime, they joined our ranks. It was all very peaceful, incredible, and wonderful.

[Glueck] Mr Ludwig, according to our information the Army is no longer intervening in Timisoara.

[Ludwig] That is correct, the shooting ended 2 days ago. All the people are in the streets, and in the enterprises people have stopped working. We have information that this now applies to the entire country. We have been told that the shooting stopped tonight—in Bucharest, in Cluj, in Arad, and so on, in all cities.

[Glueck] Are the Armed Forces only holding back or is there any indication that they express their solidarity with the objectives of the popular movement?

[Ludwig] Yes, there is indication that the Army is now on our side, at least this is what we have been told. Yet we do not really know exactly whether it is true. However, it is a fact that one does not see any military forces in Timisoara any more.

[Glueck] Timisoara is the place where this popular movement started. On the other hand, yesterday we had reports from Bucharest according to which several people were killed there, and that Ceausescu ordered tanks into the city. Thus, at least in the capital the developments continue to point in another direction.

[Ludwig] This may be true. Here everything started 5 days ago, and the shooting stopped 2 days ago; everything is peaceful here. As far as we know, in Bucharest events did not start until yesterday.

[Glueck] Do you think that this development will soon involve all of Romania?

[Ludwig] Yes, I am sure of that. This can no longer be avoided. The entire Romanian people have risen and finally want to be free.

[Glueck] How long do you think Ceausescu will still be able to remain in power?

[Ludwig] He is clinging to power with his teeth and simply does not want to let go. After all, we know him and did not expect anything else from him. He is a sick man, psychologically sick.

[Glueck] Does he have a chance to survive if he continues to have the tanks rolling?

[Ludwig] No, no, he does not have any chance. Too many people have died. We have been told that almost 4,000 people died in Timisoara alone. There was shooting in all other cities as well. Thus, he does not have any chances any more, there can be no doubt about that.

[Glueck] Do you have exact figures of the number of people who were killed in the uprising since last weekend?

[Ludwig] Yesterday a few physicians spoke to us here in the center. In Timisoara 4,000 people were certainly killed and many thousands wounded.

[Glueck] A problem in Romania is that, unlike in other East European states, which have introduced reforms in the meantime, the opposition in Romania is weak and badly organized, and that it was simply unable to develop because of the extreme repression under the Ceausescu clan. How can these groups now get organized?

[Ludwig] It is very difficult. Here in Timisoara a committee was founded whose name might be translated as Democratic Popular Movement. It includes all sorts of people: actors, lecturers from the Polytechnic, for example, workers, all sorts of people. Those people have tried to organize themselves and to keep the people in the center passing on the latest information, and other things. Yesterday it worked very well, while the day before it was still quite difficult. Several actors appeared and recited appropriate poetry from Mircea Dinescu and Ana Blandiana, and so on. People were singing and praying for the dead. It was incredible, it was wonderful.

[Glueck] Thank you very much for this information. One thing is certain, namely that the whole world is keeping its fingers crossed for you.

[Ludwig] Thank you very much, we hope that we will succeed.

Bulgarian Media Says 4,700 Dead in Timisoara

*AU2212090189 Sofia BTA in English 0835 GMT
22 Dec 89*

[Text] Bucharest, December 22 (BTA correspondent P. Petkov)—After the Strike Committee which governs the town took the post office, eyewitnesses' accounts started to come in according to which about 4,700 people have been killed. The Strike Committee has asked the other industrial centers in Romania for help. The workers' detachments (about 1,000 people) who arrived in Timisoara from Gorj region joined the demonstrators. A call has been made upon the whole country for a general strike.

Revolt Reportedly 'Spreading in Many Towns'

*LD2212110489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1012 GMT 22 Dec 89*

[Excerpts] Vrsac, 22 Dec (TANJUG)—According to passengers arriving by train in Vrsac from Bucharest this morning, revolt is spreading to many towns in Romania, despite the brutal intervention of forces of order and the Army. [passage omitted]

When the train left Timisoara this morning, according to travellers who arrived in Yugoslavia this morning, about 20,000 people are already demonstrating in the city. Passengers estimate that more than 2,000 people died in clashes during the last few days. Medical aid, according to witnesses, was given only to injured policemen and soldiers; the people took care of the injured demonstrators.

African students who arrived from Bucharest claim that cars are burning in the streets and that shots can be heard there. They also claim that five bombs exploded in the Metro. They learned from their colleagues in Timisoara that a Greek and an Iranian student died in clashes.

A Yugoslav citizen who arrived from Bucharest with his Romanian wife claims that shooting started in Bucharest about 1300 yesterday. At first, shots were fired in the air, and then at people. Then tanks arrived. Students who demonstrated en masse knelt on the street. According to this Yugoslav citizen, the tanks passed by them. He confirmed that during the night explosions were heard in the Metro. They could be heard until the train left the station at 2300. [passage omitted]

As has been learned unofficially, several dozen people escaped from Romania to Yugoslavia last night and during previous nights. Among them are, it appears, some injured.

Only three trucks from Romania crossed the border crossing near Vatin during the night.

'Workers Committee' Presents Demands

*LD2212105389 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1015 GMT 22 Dec 89*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—According to information from Romanian citizens who are currently working in the GDR, there were a total 4,600 or so dead and 1,860 wounded as a result of the clashes in Timisoara. Seven thousand people are said to have been sentenced to death and 13,500 arrested. A workers' Committee had been constituted and Premier Constantin Dascalescu had been given a list of demands. These include the immediate resignation of state and party leader Nicolae Ceausescu, the whole party leadership and the Council of Ministers, free elections, and the sentencing of persons responsible for the deaths. The committee is occupying a number of enterprises in Timisoara, which are to be blown up if the demands are not met. The Army is on the side of the people. However, units of the State Security and police are still shooting. In Arad, the children of parents who took part in the demonstrations were said to have been taken from the schools and shot dead, the reports state.

In the central Romanian town of Sibiu up to 35,000 people are said to have gone onto the streets on Thursday night/Friday morning, the reports add. Shots are also being fired in other towns, including Craiova, Resita, and Tirgu Mures.

Demonstrators Storm Central Committee

*LD2212121189 Warsaw Domestic Service
in Polish 1105 GMT 22 Dec 89*

[Excerpts] Ladies and gentlemen, some last minute news. Real revolution in Bucharest. The Army and police, who this morning were still in the city center, together with tanks and armored vehicles, have totally retreated from the streets. Demonstrators have broken into the Central Committee building, forcing open windows barricaded from the inside, and have got on to the balcony, from which only yesterday Nicolae Ceausescu spoke, demanding a condemnation of the events in Timisoara. Romanian banners with victory emblems are hanging over this balcony and on the building of the Central Committee itself.

In the meantime Nicolae Ceausescu has most probably been evacuated by a helicopter which landed on the roof of the Central Committee building at the moment when storming youths entered it. As it flew off, the helicopter was seen off with shouts of "rat, rat". The work force of the largest Romanian work enterprise, the plant of 23 August, was among those who stormed the Central Committee. Well known Romanian actors [names indistinct] rode on tanks going to the television building, so as to change Ceausescu's decree on the state of emergency in Romania. [passage omitted]

The building of the Romanian Central Committee has been abandoned by former dignitaries of the regime.

Unidentified Speakers Issue 'Radio Communiqué'

*AU2212132389 Bucharest Domestic Service
in Romanian 1105 GMT 22 Dec 89*

[*'Communiqué' issued by unidentified speakers—live*]

[Text] Here is Bucharest, Romania: We will now send an important communiqué for the country.

A large group of peaceful Romanians have knocked at the door of the Romanian radio-television station to open this door for the people, a door closed to them for 23 years.

The people are now inside and are talking directly from here; a few young people, those who have organized this revolution of children and of young people, will talk to you about the dead strewn all over this battlefield. Please speak.

Dear Romanians, coming from the center of our capital, from the capital of Romania, it has been a peaceful revolution, the revolution of all of us, not only the revolution of the children and of young people, but the revolution of our parents, of our grandparents; the revolution of all of us.

[Speaker] We are moved. We have come here to the Romanian radio-television to talk to you, and to let you know that the dictator has fallen, to tell you that the country is free, and to inform you that all of us are free. We have to take our own destiny in our hands. For this we need, dear brothers of ours, tranquility and peace.

Remove those who have robbed, looted, and murdered; but judge them fairly.

[Speaker] No, do not judge them yourself, dear Romanians. Let them be judged by the judicial bodies after order and democracy are reestablished, which has been absent in this country for 40 years.

Dear Romanians, we appeal to you; behave throughout the country as we do in Bucharest now; be happy, be free, and keep calm; do not commit violent acts.

[Speaker] Let us not forget that we have to rebuild our country.

[Speaker] And we will rebuild it as did our elders, our grandparents, and our ancestors. We will be the first, as we have always been, we will struggle and work peacefully and correctly on Romanian soil. We will be correct and honorable people before all nations in the world. We will be the most correct nation in the world. We will be the best. We will work and then work more, and we will learn and then learn more. It will be very good for all people. May there be peace and complete security and health in the world and in our country.

We thank you very much.

[Speaker] After 40 years of lies you are listening, for the first time, dear Romanians, to the voice of truth. These

young people, who just a few moments ago were facing bullets, now are calling on you to participate, together with them, in the reconstruction of our country, in moving it toward the beautiful destiny of genuine civilization.

Students Propose New Government Members

*LD2212145489 Warsaw PAP in English 1215 GMT
22 Dec 89*

[Excerpt] Bucharest, Dec 22: [passage omitted] A list of government members proposed by students was delivered to the Polish missions here. The list includes writers Doina Cornea and Dan Petrescu, former Foreign Minister Corneliu Manescu, and former political activist Silviu Brucan, one of the authors of the letter to the president on indispensable changes in Romania.

At the moment the material was being dispatched, thousands of residents of Bucharest were marching along the national emblem cut out and were heading for the republic's square and the party's headquarters.

The PAP correspondent eyewitnessed the capturing of the party's CC headquarters and the evacuation of the president on board of a helicopter. Banners were torn down from the building. People waved national banners with the emblems cut out.

One hour before the attack on the party's headquarters the Army joined the people and soldiers withdrew from the streets. The attacking units did not destroy the CC building. They smashed windows to get inside and only then threw out books and piles of various papers into the street. Banners and slogans prepared for yesterday's manifestation condemning the developments in Timisoara were set on fire in the streets. People threw flowers and fruit at the withdrawing tanks.

Ion Caramitu, an actor, and a dissident poet Mircea Dinescu delivered a TV appeal to the units of the Internal Ministry to lay arms and called for maintaining peace in the country. Dinescu with his hands up shouted "We have won. We have won".

Thousands of people in the city's main boulevard embraced and kissed each other amid shouting "Liberate, libertate".

Action Committee Created Led by Cornea, Stanciu

*AU2212153489 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1520 GMT 22 Dec 89*

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 22/12/1989—An action committee has been created with Doina Cornea as chairman and Emil Stancu as vice chairman.

The town is calm at present, as the confrontation between the order-keeping forces and the citizens ended. The Army fraternized with the crowds.

The new committee called all the people in town to gather in front of the cathedral, for a large peaceful meeting.

Appeal for Defense of Radio-TV Station

*AU2212142289 Bucharest Domestic Service
in Romanian 1410 GMT 22 Dec 89*

[Text] Dear listeners, citizens of Bucharest, we have been informed that the radio-television stations are threatened.

We want to ask everybody to come out into the streets to defend the building of the radio-television stations in the Nuferilor Street. We need this in order to preserve the victory we have won with our blood, dear citizens of Romania.

Do not let this victory out of our hand; now or ever. We have achieved freedom in Romania.

[Bucharest Domestic Service at 1420 GMT continues: "Romanian officers and soldiers, we appeal to you to move all tanks and armored cars which are now in the Palace square toward the building of the romanian radio-television station in Nuferilor Street to defend us against an imminent terrorist attack."]

TANJUG on 22 Dec Demonstrations

*LD2212135289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1304 GMT 22 Dec 89*

[Text] Belgrade, 22 Dec (TANJUG)—Immediately after the fall of longtime Romanian dictator Nicolae Ceausescu, TANJUG editor Dragan Milosavljevic had a conversation around noon today with Petar Tomic, the agency's correspondent in Bucharest, through whom the whole world has been informed over the past few days about events in this neighboring country. We are transmitting the conversation, intended for radio and television stations, in full. Petar, tell us a bit about what happened this morning and what you are able to confirm at this moment, whether it is correct that Ceausescu has left Romania?

[Tomic] I have just arrived from the city center where it was all happening. People were embracing and kissing me, congratulating the Yugoslav press on its frank reporting of events in Romania in the past few days.

[Examiner] Has Ceausescu left Romania?

[Tomic] We heard from demonstrators that he wanted to speak, then his wife pulled him inside, and after that we saw a helicopter taking off from the roof.

[Examiner] So, he left Bucharest by helicopter?

[Tomic] That is what is being assumed and that is the rumor which is circulating. Most of the demonstrators, accompanied by tanks, set off for the press center and the part of the town where his residence is located. With Mircea Dinescu, a dissident up until yesterday, they took

over the television. Mircea Dinescu addressed the nation and said that god is looking on the Romanians after 20 years of terror; finally they are free.

[Examiner] Petar, you are witnessing the creation of history. Tell us, how did events take place this morning?

[Tomic] This morning it was very dramatic. First there was calm. Workers were trying to remove the traces of the fierce clashes which lasted until 0300. Then there was another turnabout. Columns set off from all sides of the city. People were shouting, come with us. It was shameful not to set off for the city center.

[Examiner] And you went too?

[Tomic] Everyone went, and they succeeded.

[Examiner] Is it your impression, Petar, that the Army played a crucial role in these events.

[Tomic] It is quite certain that if there had not been fraternization between the Army and the people, things would have looked quite different now.

[Examiner] Is any name being mentioned of a person who is in some way leading everything, someone who at this moment could be...

[Tomic] Apart from the poet Mircea Dinescu, no one is being mentioned at present. Now they are showing how he is talking to the people, they are surrounding him.

[Examiner] So, writers and poets are coming to the head of socialist countries, after Havel in Czechoslovakia.

[Tomic] You could say so, at least as things stand at the moment.

TANJUG sent this telephone report to Yugoslav radio and television stations at 1200.

Gusa, Ilescu Address Mass Rally

*AU2212162689 Bucharest Domestic Service
in Romanian 1530 GMT 22 Dec 89*

[Text] [unidentified person] The bodies of the Ministry of Interior have been taken over by the Army. [cheers]

Thus, now we have a single force of public order: the Army and the bodies of the Ministry of Interior under the jurisdiction of the Army. [cheers]

This is a television relay and General Gusa, the chief of staff, is next to me and together we have discussed these measures at the Military Command.

I am passing the floor to him for a few words. [cheers]

[General Gusa] Brothers, the Army throughout the country is at the side of the people; it is the people's Army. [applause]

[words indistinct] all Army units, all garrisons, and all our country's cities are quiet. Please, do understand that we have to put order into things in Bucharest as well.

Therefore, you have to help the military to be able to go where they have missions to fulfill. The Army will always be with us and with you. [cheers]

We swear, we swear, we swear. [cheers]

[Ion Iliescu] Esteemed fellow citizens, we will now withdraw to set up the Council of the National Salvation Front. As we have already said, we will work out a program and a proclamation to the people. We will take measures to settle—for the time being, provisionally—the organization, the leadership, and public administration at the central and local level in all counties.

I am appealing to all citizens and to local administration bodies to ensure a proper functioning in support of the citizens' interests.

I am also appealing to you, who have participated so actively, to ensure in all units, where you are working, the proper progress of activities in the coming days.

Our aim is to set up a new structure of political power. The old structures—the party, the government, and so forth—have actually been eliminated. [cheers]

[unidentified person] Ion Iliescu has spoken.

Events in Bucharest Move at Fast Pace

Update on Situation

LD2212012589 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 0100 GMT 22 Dec 89

[Text] [Announcer] In the last hours in Bucharest the forces of order attempted to disperse the demonstrating crowd with tear gas without success. After the dispersion of the gas the people returned and their number just increased. Around the square, fire engines and armored cars are also waiting now.

The demonstrators are shouting to the soldiers: "we are staying", "we are the people, you also eat the bread of the people".

There was no statement published so far in Bucharest regarding the events taking place in the capital, despite the fact that the firing of the afternoon claimed at least twenty dead.

Renewed Protests; Shots Fired

LD2212090489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 0806 GMT 22 Dec 89

[Text] Bucharest, 22 Dec (TANJUG)—After last night's calm, columns of demonstrators have again started to march on the streets of Bucharest. Security forces immediately opened fire from automatic rifles. Ambulances are rushing through the city, so the assumption is that

shots were fired at demonstrators, but there is no information about new casualties.

Small groups of demonstrators are going along city streets shouting: "Come with us." Everything began at about 0900 while workers were removing traces of the bloody clashes between the security forces and demonstrators, which started at about 2300 last night and lasted until 0300 this morning.

This time, too, demonstrators marched toward the central square in Bucharest, but columns are also being formed in other parts of the city. Before the shooting, rumors were spreading through the city that all work organizations will go on strike today. According to some information, night shifts in many collectives did not work, and they waited for morning in order to join students who call on workers to strike.

The authorities view everything happening in the country as a counterrevolution coming from the outside, and they are acting accordingly.

Situation Appears 'Normal'

LD2212093389 Budapest MTI in English
0833 GMT 22 Dec 89

[Text] Bucharest, December 22 (MTI)—By early Friday morning, the major scenes of the demonstration in central Bucharest had been cleaned by bringing in armed vehicles and large numbers of police force. Tear gas and alarm shots were used to disperse the crowd. The action started at midnight and the shots did not cease until 3 A.M. The centre was closed down to all traffic.

In the morning, traffic started although with only a few cars on the roads. Pedestrian and car traffic in the vicinity of Hotel Intercontinental looks normal. The shops are open and life seems to have returned to normal. We have no information about sabotage or strike in factories.

Since early morning, helicopters have been hovering over central Bucharest, especially the university district. Radio started its morning programme by calling on the citizens to keep order and discipline and defend socialist values.

Army Joins Demonstrators

AU2212101889 Sofia BTA in English 1008 GMT
22 Dec 89

["Flash"—BTA headline]

[Text] Bucharest December 22 (BTA corr. Petyo Petkov)—The Army in the center of Bucharest is fraternizing with the protestors. All rows of police around the Intercontinental Hotel in Bucharest have been removed. That has happened after the announcement of the Romanian radio and television about the treachery of the Minister of National Defence Vasile Milea and his suicide. The protestors are climbing on the carriers and

tanks and embrace the soldiers. At present helicopters drop leaflets. The population is in the streets cheering.

'Entire' Army Throws Down Weapons

*OW2212101789 Tokyo KYODO in English
1008 GMT 22 Dec 89*

[Text] Tokyo, Dec. 22 KYODO—Romanian Army soldiers in Bucharest have thrown down their weapons, and citizens are advancing toward the Presidential Palace, Japanese Foreign Ministry officials said Friday, quoting reports from the Japanese Embassy in Bucharest.

The officials said "the entire Army" has thrown aside their weapons, while citizens are jumping atop tanks and heading toward the palace.

Soldiers in front of the Embassy have also thrown down their weapons, the report said.

Several battle tanks are advancing toward the state broadcasting station, the officials said.

Troops Withdraw From Central Bucharest

*LD2212115189 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1100 GMT 22 Dec 89*

[Text] According to most recent reports, soldiers withdrew from the center of Bucharest in the morning.

The crowd inundated Republic Square, which is the area between the presidential office and the party headquarters. In the course of the day, there were enormous demonstrations in the capital and in a number of large Romanian towns. The security formations again shot at the crowd in several places, and then a state of emergency was declared over the entire territory of the country. However, this did not seem to have an effect. More and more reports have come in that the soldiers are fraternizing with the demonstrators, and that in Transylvanian towns, tanks bedecked with flowers and surrounded by crowds of people, have been seen by eyewitnesses.

TV Shows Live Relay of Crowds

*LD2212114789 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1100 GMT 22 Dec 89*

[Excerpt] [Presenter] We have just received a telephone call from Debrecen.

[Unidentified reporter] The situation is as follows: Romanian television is carrying a live relay. A young person is speaking. Unfortunately I do not know what he is saying. Written behind is "Libertate", [words indistinct]—perhaps that is what is written.

[Presenter] How many people could there be on the square, according to the television?

[Reporter] On the screen there is a full crowd, and occasionally the camera shows a pan shot; it goes as far as one can see. In my view there are several hundreds of thousands of people.

[Presenter] (?Where are they), and what is shown?

[Reporter] This is in Bucharest, and it is Romanian television—which is unusual since it does not broadcast at this time. But I suspected something, since events were speeding up, and I turned it on.

[Presenter] Apart from the posters, are the people in the crowd showing anything with their hands?

[Reporter] They are showing the letter V, the letter V. [passage omitted]

More Demonstrations; Shooting in Arad

*LD2112155689 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1500 GMT 21 Dec 89*

[Excerpts] [Announcer] A few minutes ago, we received this report from Otto Oltvanyi in Bucharest.

[Oltvanyi] In these moments, tens of thousands of demonstrators are on Bucharest's main thoroughfare. The participants of the midday rally organized on the square outside the party headquarters building are marching. Those who have ripped the banners and the Ceausescu pictures apart have cut the state coat-of-arms out of the national flag, and those who are shouting: Freedom and Long Live Timisoara; Yesterday Timisoara, today Bucharest; can be heard on the main thoroughfare from the crowd.

The crowd is waiting on the long stretch of road from the (?Piazza Romana) to the Intercontinental [hotel], and at the time of my report, helicopters have appeared above Bucharest but it is not known...[passage indistinct]

[Announcer] There are also victims.

[Unidentified Correspondent] Polish citizens, who crossed the border at Gyula at around midday, said that at 1000 in Arad, approximately 2,000-3,000 people held a demonstration, yet the crowd was surrounded by soldiers, sharpshooters, dogs, and armored vehicles. Some of the soldiers, equipped with submachine-guns and machine-guns, went into the large department store next to the square and smashed out the windows. At this time, the Polish citizens left Arad's main square in a hurry, but they heard rounds of shooting.

This report was confirmed by the Polish citizen who travelled in with the Karpatia Express, who also said that a military train was waiting in Arad, on which not only were there conscripts, but there were elderly soldiers. At the station, he too, heard the rounds of shooting at 1000. A Soviet citizen reported that he was in Arad at midday, and he heard shooting. He saw from the train that Romanian military vehicles were moving from the direction of Deva, toward Arad.

TANJUG Reports on Demonstrations

LD2112145189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1359 GMT 21 Dec 89

[Text] Bucharest, 21 Dec (TANJUG)—The Center of Bucharest is under a strong police and army blockade. The meeting, organized around noon [1100 GMT] by the authorities as a sign of support of last night's speech by President Ceausescu, turned into a meeting against the regime. Several thousand people in the center are shouting "Down with Ceausescu," "Down with murderers."

Undoubtedly, perestroika has gripped Romania.

Everything started at the time of the official meeting. First, a group of young people started to protest near the Athenaeum Palace Hotel across from the President Palace. When the police tried to isolate them, other citizens joined them. The group of demonstrators has been growing constantly. At the moment when demonstrators tried to approach the official meeting, tear gas was thrown at them. Both TV and radio, which were carrying the live broadcast, ceased transmission temporarily. Ceausescu then shortened his speech and finished with the demand that committees for the defense of order and of the achievements of socialism are formed in all factories.

'Entire Population' Demonstrates

AU2112171789 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 21 Dec 89

[Text] Bucharest—The entire population of the Romanian capital has crowded into the center of the city. In the afternoon, the militia had stopped fighting with demonstrators who were chanting: Timisoara, Timisoara; we shall stay, we shall stay.

Helicopters are flying over Bucharest. Bucharest Radio has not reported anything about the demonstrations; not a single word. The station has again carried the speech that Ceausescu made in the center of Bucharest this morning.

Eyewitnesses on Demonstrations

AU2112180989 Vienna Domestic Service
in German 1700 GMT 21 Dec 89

[Report by Helmut Opletal]

[Excerpt] The regime is now shooting at demonstrators in Bucharest. The demonstration planned by Nicolae Ceausescu, to generate support for him, today turned into an open protest against the regime, in which an increasing number of people—several tens of thousands of people—participated, the Hungarian news agency reported.

Dr Bertha Braun, Austrian ambassador to Bucharest, was an eyewitness to the events this afternoon:

[Begin Braun recording] I was on my way to our foreign trade mission and I met quite a few people with a portrait of the president. This was clearly intended to be a pro-Ceausescu demonstration. A little while later all the traffic was diverted. However, I came rather close to one of the largest boulevards and I heard people chanting: Freedom for Romania! This was obviously a counter-demonstration. [end recording]

The demonstration against the regime was watched from the Austrian foreign trade mission. Walter Friedl told us on the telephone: [Begin Friedl recording] What I see here from my office is approximately 500 people in the street. However, I can see only part of the demonstrations as my view is limited. The traffic was blocked off. What I can see here from the office is approximately 500 people. There are neither choruses nor banners. Of course, there are policemen, who are diverting the traffic. There is also a tank with soldiers. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Reports by CTK Correspondent

LD2112185189 Prague Domestic Service
in Czech 1730 GMT 21 Dec 89

[Text] Following the brutal intervention of the armed and security forces in Timisoara, the demonstrations against Nicolae Ceausescu continued today in other cities, including Bucharest. Jan Kokes, CTK correspondent, reports the following from this city:

[Kokes] Throughout Romania, the tension has increased in the last few hours, nervousness has grown, and the protest demonstrations against Nicolae Ceausescu's regime and personal power have mushroomed. The huge demonstration planned by official establishments, and designed to show support for the leader, Nicolae Ceausescu, did not materialize as planned. Groups of young people began chanting antigovernment slogans, and demanded Ceausescu's departure. Although the Romanian security forces pushed the chanting young people from the square, the demonstrations spread practically throughout the capital. Groups of people, amounting to thousands, formed in many places, shouting: Down with Ceausescu! Ceausescu is a murderer! We want freedom! Shame! and so on. Romanian Army tanks have appeared in the center of the city, and machine gun shooting was heard from several places.

Various rumors are being spread. They speak about dead and injured. (?Around) demonstrating groups can be seen first aid ambulances cars. The police are attempting to disperse the demonstrators with the help of tear gas, smoke, and water guns.

So far, the whole situation is very confused. Romanian Army tanks are guarding the Romanian Communist Party Central Committee building. According to diplomatic sources, demonstrations are also taking place in other Romanian cities. There is allegedly a general strike in Timisoara. Official sources continue to be silent on the situation, and are not reporting anything.

Defense Ministry Spokesman on Bucharest

*LD2112184989 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1730 GMT 21 Dec 89*

[Text] We have tried to get information, from wherever possible, on Romania. Thus, we called the Defense Ministry and spoke to spokesman Gyoergy Keleti who told us the following news, which primarily sums up the events in Bucharest:

[Begin recording] About 1 and 1/2 hours ago, we received information from a fully reliable source on the situation which has developed in Bucharest. Obviously the dear listeners know that at 1200 hours, a rally began on Bucharest's Palace Square which some 100,000-150,000 people participated in. The organizers intended that the participants in the rally should pledge their faith in Ceausescu. He [Ceausescu] addressed a speech to the crowd, in which he promised an improvement in their situation and living conditions. During the speech, some five or six people separated from the crowd, to pledge their faith in Ceausescu.

Simultaneously, the crowd turned into a mass protest against him, shouting the slogan 'Down With Ceausescu.' It was possible to see that in the crowd, along with shouting slogans, people were tearing up emblems and other anti-Ceausescu activities. The crowd approached Ceausescu and surrounded him for a few minutes.

The security forces freed him from the crowd. At this time, as Hungarian Radio has already reported, radio and television also broke off their broadcasts. The demonstration continued, despite this Ceausescu continued his speech—at least, this is what the television reported. Around 1300 this afternoon, forces were deployed to disperse the crowd. These forces, after some 2 hours of hand-to-hand combat, pushed the crowd back into the streets around the square. Along those streets which run across the square, the forces formed a cordon, in the first line of which were primarily security forces dressed in military uniform. Armored combat vehicles were lined up behind them. Altogether, two tanks were seen on the square, but only for a short time.

By 1640 in the afternoon they had cleared the crowd from the square. The people who had been forced out of the square, marched in the streets in a group, in a mass of 15,000-25,000 people, shouting, 'Down with Ceausescu.'

Around 1600 in the afternoon MI-8 helicopters appeared above the crowd. They followed the crowd moving in different directions at a height of around 200-300 meters.

A dialogue evolved between the security forces in the square and the crowd. The crowd everywhere was shouting the slogan, 'The Army is With Us.'

Around 1700 hours a larger group went toward the Hungarian Embassy holding candles as a sympathy demonstration. By 1700 hours it was obvious that the situation was totally confused. On the basis of the events in Bucharest, one can conclude that there is significant disintegration and disunity in the leadership as well as in the security forces' leadership.

[Unidentified correspondent] So it seems that the slogan which the crowd is chanting, that the Army is with us, can be taken seriously?

[Keleti] I believe so, yes.

[Correspondent] According to certain information, for example on the basis of information from TASS and Reuter, explosions were heard in various parts of the city. Is anything known about this?

[Keleti] We have received information of only one explosion. However, this has not been confirmed, so it is as yet not certain. It concerns an explosion which took place in the Bucharest Officers' Mess where there are also injured and dead. I repeat, this news has not been confirmed. [end recording]

MTI Correspondent on Strike Threat

*LD2112184389 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1730 GMT 21 Dec 89*

[Text] MTI Correspondent Otto Oltvanyi sent in this report around an hour and a half ago.

[Begin Oltvanyi Recording] The demonstrating crowd still fills Bucharest's main thoroughfare, and with the onset of darkness, the marchers are chanting ever more forcefully. They are praising Timisoara and demanding that Ceausescu be replaced. For the moment, events are happening without any particular incident.

Shots have also been heard, but these could only be discerned at around two in the afternoon, when warning shots were fired in the air from an automatic weapon. Three other bangs also caused alarm, but these were smaller tear gas bombs, which were not followed by others.

The demonstrators are surrounded by a large ring of security forces. Armored vehicles, water cannons, and riot units with defense shields can be seen.

For the most part, the demonstrators are factory workers who were brought out this morning for the rally at noon. But there are also many young people among the demonstrators, who are marching with cries of 'Down with Ceausescu.' At the Piazza Romana—this is one of Bucharest's central squares—they are now beginning to disperse the demonstrators, but this dispersal seems to be peaceful. The demonstrators who have been forced back into the side streets are lighting candles and progressing slowly, with heads lowered, in memory of the victims of Timisoara.

Reports are coming in that other groups from some large Bucharest factories are on their way to join those already there. If the situation does not change, then beginning tomorrow we will strike, say the marching workers, whom it can be seen have nothing to do with imperialist and reactionary circles.

The political leadership is trying to calm the situation by improving wages. The party Political Executive Committee met today and issued resolutions to this effect. [end recording]

Budapest Reports Demonstration; Shooting in Cluj

LD2112182889 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1730 GMT 21 Dec 89

[Text] We have received information from Cluj that a demonstration is also taking place there, and the sound of shooting has been heard. All this is happening in the vicinity of the local heavy machine factory and in the town.

32 Killed

LD2112214689 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 2100 GMT 21 Dec 89

[Text] The correspondent dealing with the events in Transylvania has just informed me that in Kolozsvár [Cluj] the number of people who died today number around 32. The demonstrations are continuing, as is the shooting. Combat vehicles are stationed in the town center, while the demonstrations extend from the town's inner area to the environs.

Doctors, Medicine at Timisoara Hospital Removed

LD2112225289 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1100 GMT 21 Dec 89

[Excerpt] A desperate telephone caller from Timisoara has asked for assistance so that the town hospital can treat its patients because the blood and medicine reserves have been taken away by soldiers. Therefore, even the serious cases cannot be operated on. According to the phone caller from Timisoara, four doctors from the hospital were arrested last night and one of its ambulances was blown up. Jozsef Laszlo called the Budapest center of the Red Cross to ask how we can assist the Romanian patients, injured, wounded. Here is Dr Arpad Alföldi, deputy secretary general of the Hungarian Red Cross.

[begin Alföldi recording] When I arrived at my workplace this morning, a male voice phoned me from Timisoara, saying that he was a doctor in Timisoara. He indicated that during the night the security forces took four doctors away from the hospital, and at the same time carried out an action which in practice made the hospital inoperable. [end recording]

They took away the blood preparations, medicines and bandages according to the doctor's statement. He asked

us to try to help with the means available to us; namely that we should turn to the International Red Cross. [passage omitted]

Protestors Seize Petrochemical Complex

AU2112161789 Paris AFP in English 1521
GMT 21 Dec 89

[Text] Belgrade, AFP—A Romanian man who succeeded in crossing the border into Yugoslavia told Tanjug news agency that the revolt in Timisoara was "total" and that the army was nowhere to be seen.

The man said that the whole city was out on the streets and that a giant petrochemical complex had been taken over by the protestors.

He said that chief engineer of the complex had threatened to blow it up unless the army left.

Timisoara Socialism, Democracy Committee Formed

LD2112185389 Budapest Television Service
in Hungarian 1830 GMT 21 Dec 89

[Text] In Timisoara, perhaps the first opposition organization, or the germ of an opposition, has appeared, with the creation by intellectuals of the group "Committee for Socialism and Democracy."

Bishop Justifies Measures Against Laszlo Tokes

AU2112172189 Bucharest AGERPRES
in English 1632 GMT 21 Dec 89

["From the Reformed Diocese—Oradea"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 21/12/1989—Laszlo Papp, bishop of the Oradea Reformed Diocese, specifies:

"In connection with the case of the Reformed Minister Laszlo Tokes, used by hostile circles abroad in their shameful propaganda against Romania, I feel it is my duty as a servant of the Reformed Church of Romania and as a citizen of this country in which I carry my activity to state the following:

Upon graduating from the Faculty of Theology, Laszlo Tokes was appointed as a candidate minister at Brasov, within the Cluj Reformed Diocese. Because of his behavior, unworthy of a servant of the church, and of several serious breaches of discipline he was transferred to the town of Dej. Having refused to take up his post, Bishop Nagy Gyula, the head of the Cluj Reformed Diocese, removed him from his ministry, in agreement with the provisions of the statute of the reformed church. He remained out of work for more than 2 years during which time, together with his father—a pensioner and a former teacher at the Protestant Theological Institute in Cluj-Napoca—and with support from his brother who settled in Canada, he undertook a number of actions against the lawful leadership of the Reformed Church of Romania, of Bishop Nagy Gyula respectively who was

then President of the Synod of the Reformed Church, which he accused of abuse in religious affairs and persecution of ministers.

Under those circumstances, to stop the above actions and as a result of his requests, I posted him as chaplain (an office ranking below that of a minister) at the Central Reformed Parish in Timisoara at the beginning of 1986. After approximately one year I made him a candidate minister at the same parish. Laszlo Tokes then thanked me, orally and in a letter, for my understanding.

Shortly after having taken up his post, Laszlo Tokes began to show the same lack of discipline to the church hierarchy, grossly violating the statute of organization and functioning of the Reformed Church of Romania, and the laws of the Romanian state to which he belongs as a citizen. He contacted political circles, radio and television stations abroad, denigrating and making a tendentious presentation of the realities in our country, and through him various materials hostile to Romania were disseminated abroad.

As a result of these facts, which are incompatible with his status as a minister and with the oath he took on his ordination to be faithful to his country and his church, the Oradea Reformed Bishopric, hopeful to recover him as a minister, decided to transfer Laszlo Tokes from Timisoara to the Mineu Reformed Parish in the County of Salaj. By that transfer, the minister had the obligation to vacate the parish house, which is the property of the church. Laszlo Tokes not only refused to comply with the decision of the higher religious bodies, but also stepped up his actions against the leadership of the church, including myself, accusing us of introducing terror methods in the administration of Dioceses. Gradually, these actions which were aimed directly at our state, Laszlo Tokes began posing as "a victim of the official Romanian policy to the Hungarian nationality and in this framework to the churches with Hungarian faithful" especially to the reformed (this, as a result of the known anti-Romanian instigations at various international religious meetings promoted by Budapest's Reformed Bishop Karoly Toth a former member of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic).

At the same time, Laszlo Tokes managed to get and tried to disseminate a number of newspapers, magazines and other materials with a hostile, anti-Romanian and irreverent content, from a Hungarian source.

Information about Laszlo Tokes' conduct, which was incompatible with his ministerial duties, was sent by me and my colleague, Bishop Nagy Gyula of Cluj, to certain international religious organizations, and especially to the World Alliance of Reformed Churches which had received by various channels erroneous unreal information concerning the situation of the said minister.

Because Laszlo Tokes categorically refused to report to the Mineu parish and vacate the parish house, as was decided, the Oradea Reformed Bishopric instituted proceedings against him at the law courts of the City of

Timisoara requesting his eviction. By a final ruling of the court of law, Tokes was forced out of the house that went with the office, but the clergyman did not comply with the judicial ruling, which led to its execution by the organ entitled to do so.

It is well known that in our country the ruling of a court of law must be carried out to the letter, and whoever resists it or refuses to let it take effect commits a serious offense against society, against its political and legal basis. All state organs and organisms with attributions concerning the observance of the laws and of the rulings of the courts of law have the obligation to hold anybody who is responsible guilty of such an offense.

From the above cursory data it is clear to any person of good faith that Tokes broke the oath he took on his ordination, did not obey the decisions of the church hierarchy and of the civil and judicial bodies, took actions that were hostile to the state, which naturally brought upon him the above said disciplinary measures.

Tokes is a victim of his own actions, inspired and encouraged by hostile, anti-Romanian circles abroad, especially Hungary, and under no circumstances can one say that he was sanctioned for his religious activity"

Any Violation of Law To Be 'Severely Punished'

*AU2112151689 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA
in Romanian 18 Dec 89 p 1*

["The Country's Laws and Court Decisions—Strictly Observed and Very Firmly Applied"]

[Text] In our party's concept, socialist Romania's socio-economic edifice on the whole is firmly based on the law—an expression of our nation's supreme will and of our sovereign people's basic interests. "The activity in all areas," a concept emphasized by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu in his extensive report to the great forum of the Romanian Communists in November, "has to be based solely on the country's laws, which regulate and ensure our homeland's balanced development and full equality of rights for all our homeland's citizens."

This concept of the supremacy of the law in our homeland's socialist construction, which was consistently and firmly promoted in the wake of the Ninth Party Congress, was given material shape in creating a legislative system that is fully in keeping with the Romanian people's greatest interests in ensuring progress and well-being, this representing their freely expressed desire. Therefore, strict observance, under all circumstances, of our country's laws is and should be viewed as each citizen's duty of the first order toward the people and our socialist society. The socialist legal order—an essential component of building the new system—requires, as an essential condition, the firm implementation of its provisions under all circumstances. The decisions of the judicial bodies—invested by the country's Constitution to defend and promote legality—have to be observed by all means and faithfully applied. Those who oppose this

and refuse to acknowledge final court decisions, are guilty of a serious violation of the country's laws and thus have to be called to account and most severely sanctioned in accordance with our laws. Final court decisions have to be applied unconditionally!—this being an obligation stipulated by all laws in the world. Any violation of the law, any avoidance or opposition to applying court decisions constitutes a serious violation that essentially harms legal order and the people's supreme interests and has to be sanctioned. The courts and all state bodies and organizations with tasks in the application and observance of laws and court decisions have to take the firmest stand toward those who violate laws and decisions and who try to avoid them or, simply oppose their application. These bodies are entitled by law to take all necessary measures to ensure the application of the laws and decisions, so that no one may shun responsibility toward the people and the country for the violations of the laws and antisocial acts they commit, and for the serious harm they cause to the interests of society.

Our system of revolutionary workers democracy, which ensures a broad framework for the involved and responsible participation of all citizens in implementing our country's great socioeconomic development programs, require to the greatest extent the firm application of socialist legality that defends the people's supreme interests, legal order, and the new social relations established in our socialist society. Thus, any violation or infringement upon the latter must be severely punished by all our state bodies and by the entire public opinion.

No one is permitted to ignore and to violate laws and court decisions without being subject to the rigors of our socialist legality and without having to account for it under the law.

SFRY Journalist Reports Unrest

*AU2112203089 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 21 Dec 89*

[Excerpt] A large group of domestic and foreign journalists is still waiting at the Vatin border crossing. One of them is our correspondent Dragan Petrovic who reports the following:

[Petrovic] During the afternoon and evening the border crossings seems to have ceased. In almost 7 hours, only three cars have entered our country. Some Georgian tourists have told us that obstacles have been placed on the road, so the Romanian Army is making it difficult even to travel to Yugoslavia.

None of the travellers have heard about unrest in Bucharest, but they told us that there is unrest in Brasov, Lugoj, Resica, Craiova, and Iasi; between 50,000 and 100,000 people are in the streets of Timisoara. Army and police do not intervene but the town is under siege.

In the dead silence of the border crossing a distant rumble of large motorized units was coming from Romanian territory approximately one hour ago. [passage omitted]

Budapest TV Reports 'Massacre' in Arad 21 Dec

*LD2112193189 Budapest Television Service
in Hungarian 1830 GMT 21 Dec 89*

[Text] Several hundreds, several thousands, several tens of thousands? Nobody knows how many. While more and more horrific news arrives from Timisoara—about a complete blockade, state of emergency, reprisals—the first eyewitnesses of the Arad massacre this morning crossed the border at Gyula.

A shocked Polish couple get out of a damaged, shattered car. Shots, soldiers, it was appalling; the horrors lived through come pouring out of the woman. They were in a large shop on the main square when at around 1000, they became aware of a large demonstration, anti-Ceausescu slogans. Two or three thousand people must have been marching on the streets.

Suddenly, armed soldiers broke the shop windows and opened fire on those inside, at everyone, indiscriminately. Those who could not escape met their horrific, futile death there.

The people we were talking to miraculously managed to get out of the scene of the massacre, and when they looked back from the gas station, they saw that tanks were rolling into the demonstrating crowds.

They also saw students being ordered out in front of the school, made to stand against a wall, and shot dead.

Few people managed to escape from the blockaded, besieged town. These two Romanian young men, on seeing the bloodbath in Timisoara Sunday [17 December], decided that they would take the risk and leave the country. They felt they had to escape from a place where arms are taken up by brother against brother, Romanian against Romanian.

The shootings at Arad this morning were verified also by the personnel of the Karpatia Express which arrived at Lockoeshaza this afternoon. Furthermore, they said that every Romanian citizen is taken off the trains—nobody is allowed out of the country.

Eyewitness Report on 'Carnage in Bucharest'

*AU2112190589 Sofia BTA in English 1837 GMT
21 Dec 89*

["Carnage in Bucharest"—BTA headline]

[Text] Bucharest, December 21 (BTA corr. Petyo Petkov)—According to accounts of eyewitnesses, employees at the Balkan Bulgarian Airlines and in the Balkan tourist offices in Bucharest, one of the columns of today's antigovernment demonstration (youths of 15-19 years of age) was formed at the "Gheorghe Gheorghiu Dej"

Boulevard not far from the "Intercontinental" Hotel. The first demonstrators held only Romanian national flags. They tore and broke the flags of the Romanian Communist Party and chanted "Democracy" and "Freedom." The protestors passed undisturbed through one hedge of police and even put a Romanian national flag on one police car. But the second hedge of police came down on the young people using clubs. Then the crowd started shouting "Killers" and "Down With Ceausescu."

By the university (in front of the Intercontinental Hotel) a number of people joined the youths. The employees started to close the shops in the region. The square in front of the Intercontinental and the streets leading to it were crowded with people. The people chanted "We Are Not Fascists" and "Killers." Tear gas grenades were thrown. Shooting started of single shots and then massive fire. The police was in three hedges equipped with helmets and shields. Following the orders of the officers they attacked the protestors one after the other in different turns.

At present next to the Intercontinental Hotel opposite the Balkan Airlines office, there is a tank and four carriers. The law enforcement authorities run mercilessly after the protestors, who rushed to and fro. People with small children were shouting "Down With Ceausescu." His portraits were torn and tramped with feet. A woman had said that she saw dead people. The crowd sang a Romanian song called "The Romanian Woke Up." The roar of heavy engines can be heard—probably tanks, as well as shots and explosions.

According to the Balkan employees at present the crowd has divided into two parts, one moving toward the "Unirea" Supermarket and the other toward the "Romana" square.

As eyewitnesses say, the antigovernment demonstration continues and more and more people join it. The protestors shout "We Will Stay Here" and slogans against leaders of the state. From the improvised stand young people raise slogans for freedom for Doina Cornia and other Romanian human rights fighters. The whole demonstration knelt down and paid homage to the victims of Timisoara. There were shouts "Timisoara" "Timisoara." After 230 p.m. the machine guns fire stopped. The police stopped the chase of protestors; according to eyewitnesses elderly people talked to the policemen and the soldiers, persuading them not to shoot against the young people. At present the situation is relatively calm—the police wait and the protestors stay there and continue to shout different slogans.

At 4 p.m. the Romanian Radio informed about an official rally, but did not say anything about the demonstration, which continues.

Demonstration Reported; Shooting in Tirgu Mures

*LD2112214789 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 2100 GMT 21 Dec 89*

[Text] There was a demonstration today in Tirgu Mures which encompassed the town center and several outer districts. Shots were heard, and there were fatalities reported, although their number is not significant.

According to reports, it is not the Army but the internal affairs forces of law and order which are maintaining and dealing with the demonstrators.

The demonstration began at 1700, and includes both Hungarians and Romanians. There was a strike in the area this morning.

Bucharest Protest Sparks Other Demonstrations

*LD2112220589 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 2100 GMT 21 Dec 89*

[Text] [Announcer] Now follows the most recent Bucharest report on the evening events. Otto Oltvanyi reports.

[Oltvanyi] The situation is extremely tense in Bucharest in the late evening hours. Part of the demonstrating crowd is still on the street in spite of the fact that police squads are trying to push the crowd away from the main routes.

Radio and television have not yet carried a statement on the Bucharest developments. However, from time to time, they interrupt their programs to broadcast appeals. They call on the country's population to maintain peace and the order of the state. They issue instructions that throughout the country, combat units should be immediately organized at work places and residential areas to preserve the socialist achievements and values and to defend Romania's territorial intactness and sovereignty.

One of the appeals calls for order, so that supplies to the population can be ensured. Twenty four hours after the radio and television speech by Nicolae Ceausescu, the situation has become more restless in all of Romania.

The demonstration which took place today in the country's capital, and which demands Ceausescu's departure, has met with a countrywide response, and reports are coming in that there are demonstrations in other towns. What is known is that there was shooting in the evening hours in Bucharest, in the area of the (?Unire) department store, and that there have been victims from this clash.

It can be seen in the capital that the ambulances are doing a lot of business. The police forces invariably are keeping the capital's inner district closed off, and thus, no one knows what the coming night will bring for whom.

Dascalescu Receives Opposition Group for Talks

LD2112233289 Warsaw Domestic Service
in Polish 2210 GMT 21 Dec 89

[Excerpts] There was a qualitative change in the situation in Romania today as demonstrations transferred from Timisoara to the streets of Bucharest.

The TASS news agency reported that military helicopters are flying at low altitude over Bucharest. This news arrived this evening. Antigovernment slogans have appeared on walls. Radio Bucharest has been transmitting patriotic songs, alternating with bulletins about the country's economic achievements. The television is not working. In Timisoara, workers are occupying factories, demanding the resignation of the country's leadership and the punishment of those responsible for the massacre.

Today's evening dispatches indicate that an understanding of the situation is beginning to get through to the ruling establishment. In Timisoara, Constantin Dascalescu, the Romanian Government premier, received, for the first time in the history of the Ceausescu regime, delegates of the political opposition, (?which joined up) in a Committee of Socialist Democracy. This committee demanded the resignation of the country's entire political leadership, free and democratic elections, the punishment of the perpetrators of the (?bloodbath), access for Western journalists to Timisoara, and the publication of the committee's demands in the Romanian mass media. We repeat, this Committee of Socialist Democracy was received by the premier currently in office. Together with the demonstration against Ceausescu and the shooting on the streets of the capital [words indistinct] or the system. The rest appears to be only a matter of time, a small amount of time.

Strike Called For; 'Carnage' in Bucharest 21 Dec

AU2212094289 Sofia BTA in English 2218 GMT
21 Dec 89

["Carnage in Bucharest"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 21 (BTA)—As pointed out by local sources, today's demonstration in Bucharest was organized by the students. Today in the afternoon they sent their representatives to the big enterprises in the capital calling the workers also to go out in the street and tomorrow to hold a general strike.

According to a local citizen near the University a carrier ran over two young people. Those who tried to help them have been met with machine gun fire. About 20 protesters have died or were wounded. One can see on the streets in the region of the University youths who carry their wounded comrades.

Number of Bucharest Demonstrators 'Growing'

LD2112235189 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 2300 GMT 21 Dec 89

[Text] According to patchy reports, the situation in Romania is confused for the time being, but it is certain that the atmosphere is increasingly tense.

In Bucharest, the number of protesters on the streets is growing. The students appealed to the workers of large factories to hold a general strike on Friday [22 December]. The students sent representatives to the factories to convince the workers to join. Their action was not influenced by the fact that, according to corresponding statements by eyewitnesses, the Army shot into the crowd which was originally ordered to gather to demonstrate in favor of Ceausescu.

However, the demonstration turned into an action against the regime so much so, that the head of state, and party secretary was forced to abandon his speech.

In Bucharest, there are bodies lying on the streets. In Timisoara, there is a general strike and 150,000 people have demonstrated. Events are being directed by a newly formed Social Committee. The Army was forced to leave the town because the insurgents occupied the big petrochemical factory and the chief engineer threatened to blow up the factory if the soldiers didn't leave.

There were clashes also in Cluj, Sibiu, Crainova, Iasi and Brasov.

AGERPRES Rejects Censorship

AU2212155989 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1534 GMT 22 Dec 89

["From AGERPRES"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 22/12/1989—The Romanian news agency AGERPRES no longer needs the censorship's special approval to issue fake positions and national stances that have no real basis.

Along with the entire central and local press, the radio and television, all the mass media, AGERPRES will do its duty and inform faithfully, honestly and in a civilized manner the home and international public opinion about all the events in Romania and the world.

We will give to the press, to all international news agencies a full and honest image of all Romanian events.

This text was written by the Romanian news agency journalists who never lost their professional conscience, those who until yesterday were compelled to depict reality otherwise than it really was and systematically disinform the home and international public opinion.

Spokesman on Country's Interest in Romania

*AU2112183389 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 21 Dec 89*

[Text] Yugoslavia has been following events in neighboring Romania with the greatest attention and concern and will not fail to take any step necessary to protect human rights, freedoms, and lives. This was what official spokesman for the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs, Ambassador Ivo Vajgl, said at the regular news conference. Here is Azra Nuhefendic, who has just come from the news conference, which was dominated by two topics: unrest in Romania and the American invasion of Panama:

Neither the police nor anybody else has broken into the SFRY Consulate in Timisoara and this agency's rights have in no way been violated, Ambassador Ivo Vajgl said in reply to journalists' question on how accurate the rumors are that the Romanian police have broken into the consulate building.

We have information that SFRY Ambassador in Bucharest, Denkov, was summoned to the Romanian Central Committee last night for a talk, which makes one conclude that the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee decision to freeze relations with the Romanian Party was discussed on that occasion. The SFRY Consulate General in Timisoara has been performing its regular duties, but, considering the kind of problems it is facing now, a diplomat was sent to Timisoara from the Embassy in Bucharest. Ivo Vajgl also said that consultations between a number of officials of the Secretariat for Foreign Affairs with our consul general are under way at Vrsac.

When asked whether the Yugoslav Government will take the same measures against Romania as were taken by the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee and whether it will react in a similar way as on the occasion of the Chilean coup d'etat and the 1967 Arab-Israeli conflict when, let us recall, we broke diplomatic relations, Ambassador Vajgl said that he cannot answer this question at the moment, because that would mean prejudging a possible government decision.

When asked whether the number of Romanian refugees to Yugoslavia has increased recently, the answer was negative, just as it was to the question whether anybody had taken refuge in our diplomatic-consular agencies. Ambassador Vajgl confirmed that a number of family members of Yugoslav officials in the Timisoara Consulate have come home, but said that it can almost be considered a regular occurrence.

Can the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs confirm some figures concerning the number of dead and wounded in Romania? Ambassador Vajgl said that this was impossible at the moment, because all data are based solely upon eyewitnesses' statements. However, one can

say that there are no victims among the Yugoslav nationalities, Ivo Vajgl said, citing the statement issued by the SFRY Consulate in Timisoara.

Yugoslavia has been following the situation, feelings, and reaction to Romanian events affecting the position of our minorities and that is at the moment a priority task of our representatives in the neighboring country.

Several questions pertained to the American invasion of Panama. Ivo Vajgl reiterated the Yugoslav Government's position that any kind of intervention by anybody, particularly a military one, is unacceptable, because it represents the harshest form of disturbing a country's sovereignty. We would like this intervention to end as soon as possible and to do so in such a way so as not to undermine the new spirit of cooperation in the world, which all countries need so much. The essential prerequisite is the right of the Panamanian people to decide itself who will lead its country, Ambassador Ivo Vajgl said.

Organizations Protest Over Events in Romania

*LD2112204789 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1727 GMT
21 Dec 89*

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 21 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav State Presidency strongly condemns the repressive and brutal measures taken by Romanian authorities against their people, a statement issued here today said.

The Yugoslav public is following the tragic events in Romania with great indignation and concern. Several hundred people today gathered outside the Romanian Embassy in Belgrade to protest against the latest developments in that country. The protest rally, organized by a group of Belgrade cultural and public figures, was attended by Belgrade residents and Romanian refugees. The protesters sharply condemned the Bucharest regime and expressed solidarity with the Romanian people who raised their voice against the dictatorial rule.

Condemning the Romanian regime for the brutal use of force against the people, the Communists of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia urged an end to bloodshed and all other inhumane and non-democratic actions in Romania, a statement from today's session of the party Presidency said.

The Secretary for Foreign Relations of the Republic of Serbia Aleksandar Prlja today appealed to the entire progressive mankind to strongly condemn the insanity of the senile, fruitless and dark regime in Romania, and expressed the Serbian people's solidarity with the Romanian people.

The Assembly of Yugoslavia today urged the Romanian Assembly to insist on an end to reprisals against the people and the protection of human rights, freedom and personal security of citizens.

Noting that the bloodshed in Romania has triggered revolt and indignation by all freedom-loving people,

Yugoslav war veterans today expressed support with the Romanian people and their tragic and heroic struggle.

The massacre of unarmed youth and people in Timisoara is an unprecedented manifestation of the Romanian regime's brutality and the most serious discrediting of socialism in recent times, a statement from the Yugoslav Youth Organization said.

Energetically condemning the brutal massacre of unarmed Romanian citizens, the Socialist Alliance of the Republic of Croatia said today that it would not accept any official justification of the bloodshed in Timisoara.

The bloody events in Romania were today also condemned by the Yugoslav Red Cross, the Yugoslav League for Peace, Independence and Equality and many other political organizations and citizens' associations throughout the country.

Kucan Says Country on 'Brink of a Civil War'

LD2212114189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1046 GMT 22 Dec 89

[Text] Ljubljana, 22 Dec (TANJUG)—The amendments to the constitution of the Slovenia Socialist Republic were not adopted in order to protect Slovene separatism but, above all, in order to safeguard the democratic nature of the Yugoslav federation, Milan Kucan stressed.

Yugoslavia is on the brink of a civil war. Unscrupulous, aggressive, and ultimatum-style policies, which we, due to opportunism, did not oppose or call by the proper name, have for 2 years sustained tensions and conflicts in Yugoslavia. I do not believe, Kucan said, that consequences of such a policy have to be our destiny.

Federal Chamber on Interethnic Conflicts

LD2112235989 Belgrade TANJUG in English
2228 GMT 21 Dec 89

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 21 (TANJUG)—Political and economic conflicts in Yugoslavia must cease, as they are hampering the implementation of social and economic reforms, the Federal Chamber of the Yugoslav bicameral parliament said today.

The chamber assessed as disastrous to the country the insistence on separate, republican interests, the weakening of the responsibility of the republics and provinces for the development of Yugoslavia and the increasingly frequent violations of constitutional and legal provisions, human rights and freedoms.

Just as the state presidency on Monday, the Federal Chamber today called for ending inter-ethnic and inter-republican conflicts. The call was addressed primarily to the republics of Serbia and Slovenia whose parliaments have been asked to resolve questions in dispute as soon as possible. Relations between the republics deteriorated after Slovenia banned an announced rally of Serbs and

Montenegrins in its capital Ljubljana, which resulted in Serbia severing economic relations with Slovenia.

The leaderships of the two republics disagree on the way to resolve the crisis in (the province of) Kosovo, where the state presidency had introduced special measures earlier this year in order to check the activity of ethnic Albanian separatists and chauvinists and prevent another armed rebellion and further strikes and demonstrations. The only measure still in force is the ban on rallies and demonstrations which, the state presidency assessed on Monday, should remain in force, as the activity of ethnic Albanian separatists is still intensive. The leadership of Slovenia has, however, on several occasions expressed its disagreement with the measures.

The parliament Federal Chamber took the view that the conflict between the two republics should be resolved in their own interest and in the interest of Yugoslavia. This means that they should end their conflicts which are in violation of the Constitution and the law, of human rights and freedoms and which disrupt the functioning of the single Yugoslav market.

Milosevic Speaks on Serbia-Slovenia 'Dispute'

LD2112235889 Belgrade TANJUG in English
2040 GMT 21 Dec 89

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 21 (TANJUG)—Asked to comment on the dispute between Yugoslavia's republics of Serbia and Slovenia, Serbia's President Slobodan Milosevic says that this is a dispute between conservative and progressive forces, and not between the two leaderships.

In an interview carried in tomorrow's edition of the Albanian language Kosovo daily RILINDJA, the leader of the country's biggest republic says that several battles are being fought in Yugoslavia. Behind them all is a major battle between those who are against socialism and Yugoslavia, on one side, and those who are for socialism and Yugoslavia, on the other, he says.

Noting that there is a way out of the current situation and that conditions exist for a settlement, Milosevic stresses that a common concept of socialism can be reached through reform and that it must be based on equality for all nations and nationalities living in Yugoslavia.

Milosevic says that political pluralism in Serbia and Yugoslavia should not trouble any society, unless it be a tyrannical one. He warns, however, that if political pluralism is just another word for destroying Yugoslavia and socialism, then Serbia is against it.

Milosevic also says that in Serbia there is no ethnic discrimination, and that in this regard the republic can be a model for the whole of Yugoslavia. He says he personally believes that every nationalism is primitive and that if nationalism is translated into its aggressive form - chauvinism, it will necessitate aggressive response.

In conclusion, Milosevic appeals to ethnic Albanians and all Yugoslav citizens to view Yugoslavia as their common home and to join forces in contributing to a safe, free and better life.

Slovene Party Congress Opens in Ljubljana

*AU2212092689 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 22 Dec 89*

[Text] The 11th Congress of the League of Communists of Slovenia has opened in the Cankar Hall in Ljubljana. It is attended by 409 delegates, representatives of the Leagues of Communists of other republics and provinces, and 10 foreign delegations. The congress will work in three plenary sessions and four working groups. Milan Kucan, president of the Central Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Slovenia, will make an introductory speech. As has been learned, in his speech, Kucan will advocate an unconditional democratization and free elections.

Assembly Adopts 'Most' of Economic Package

*LD2212001789 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2257 GMT
21 Dec 89*

[Text] Belgrade, December 21 (TANJUG)—Both chambers of the Yugoslav Assembly tonight ended four-day sessions after adopting most of the measures from the economic package proposed by the Federal Government for next year. The proposed federation budget and the draft law on salaries for the next six months, however, were not adopted.

The Chamber of Republics and Provinces, which consists of delegations of eight Yugoslav federal units, adopted a total of 22 laws and stopgap measures.

The stopgap measures include two extremely important systemic laws—on the tax system and on the hard currency system. Delegations of the most developed republic—Slovenia, and the largest—Serbia, were against their adoption.

The proposed federation budget for 1990 of 76.7 billion convertible dinars (6.34 billion U.S. dollars) did not win the approval of the Serbian delegation which believes that it is not along the lines of the economic policy concept proposed by the government of Premier Ante Markovic.

The delegates will decide about the budget most probably by the end of the year.

Under the decision on a common hard currency policy adopted in the Chamber of Republics and Provinces, the convertible surplus next year should be 1.6 billion U.S. dollars and the deficit in trade with the clearing payment area 185 million dollars. The total rise in exports should be eight percent (11 percent to the convertible area), while total imports should be increased by 17.7 percent.

Under the changes in the law on hard currency, all foreign firms will be able freely to transfer money earned in business operations with Yugoslav firms and other legal entities.

Under the new law on the tax system, foreigners who do not live in Yugoslavia will also have to pay taxes on money earned in this country.

The law on financial reorganization of banks adopted by the Federal Chamber envisages that, in case of bankruptcy, a bank's obligations to foreign firms will be taken over by the federation.

It is estimated that dubious assets in the Yugoslav bank system reached 8.3 billion dollars in late 1988 and early 1989.

The Federal Chamber also adopted a law which for the first time in Yugoslavia regulates sales of social property—operative funds and reserves of firms—to Yugoslav and foreign individuals.

Markovic Expects Results From Economic Program

*LD2212093289 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0004 GMT
22 Dec 89*

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 21 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Government is ready to bear full responsibility for the possible failure of its economic program, however, it is convinced that instead of this, it will be praised for its achievements by next July and Yugoslavia will in five years emerge from the crisis, Yugoslav Premier Ante Markovic stated this evening.

Responding to many questions, often very sharp ones posed by viewers during a nearly two-hour interview carried by all Yugoslav television stations, Markovic said that the program he presented, on behalf of the government, to the Yugoslav Federal Assembly on Monday is "so good that results are imminent."

The premier recalled that both Federal Assembly chambers have already adopted the majority of the government programs and announced a highly restrictive monetary policy in the first six months of next year. He said that the issue of money will be conditioned on foreign exchange coverage, explaining that this is necessary in order to enable the dinar to keep its convertibility established yesterday.

The Yugoslav premier categorically rejected assumptions that the convertibility of the dinar will also mean turning the foreign currency accounts of citizens into dinar accounts. He also categorically rejected demands for limiting the amount of foreign currency which enterprises and citizens will be able to freely purchase in Yugoslav banks, as of January 1, 1990. All restrictions of this kind would be a blow to the convertibility of the dinar, Markovic said. Markovic cited the fact that prior to Monday, before the establishment of the convertibility of the dinar, Deutsche marks were sold at a rate of 40 percent over the official exchange rate on the "grey"

market, but after the program was announced in the federal assembly, it dropped below its nominal value.

Replying to claims made by certain viewers that the program measures will more severely hit the less developed parts of the country (as the price of raw materials and energy will be controlled while the price of finished products completely liberalized), Markovic said that the government program is "the program of the entire country" and that it will demand huge sacrifices from all its federal units. Instead of calculations "who gains what and who loses by them" everyone should reflect as to how to contribute to the joint effort to succeed, the premier underscored.

Explaining the essence of the Law on Social Capital adopted yesterday, which also enables the selling of socially owned enterprises, Markovic underscored that it does not mean the privatization or "capitalization" of the Yugoslav economy. The law was passed, he explained, in order to force socially owned property to compete with other forms of ownership, and not to destroy it.

Asked about the possibilities that this Yugoslav reform also "fail" on the social issue, Markovic replied that the government for the first time envisaged concrete funds in the federal budget (150,000,000 dollars) for immediate support to social programs. He said that the government expects in the beginning a rise in unemployment but also a mass opening of new jobs, primarily through the forming of large numbers of smaller firms.

Markovic, according to his own claims, is aware of the huge risk which such a complex program carries with it. However, he thinks that for Yugoslavia, there can be no alternative other than a market oriented economy in a free and democratic country.

The Yugoslav premier was categorical in his claims that the country's top party leadership did not even attempt to influence the work of the government. Assessing that last year's first conference of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) took a "revolutionary step" by urging the separation of the party and state, Markovic said that the new Yugoslav economic system is based on pluralism of ownership and as such, also inevitably demands political pluralism.

The Yugoslav premier believes that no one can stop the processes of democracy and the people's right to freedom and association. He also considers that no one can stop the stormy and dramatic processes inaugurated in other socialist countries.

Presidency on New Laws, Romania, Panama

AU2112184689 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 21 Dec 89

[Text] The SFRY Presidency was today informed about the course of the process of coordinating views on the

laws discussed by the SFRY Assembly and the reasons individual delegations refused to give their consent.

Assessing that individual laws need to be adopted, at the suggestion of the Federal Executive Council, the Presidency agreed that the following laws should be adopted as temporary measures, because no consensus has been reached in the Chamber of Republics and Provinces: The Law on Amending the Law on Foreign Exchange Transactions; the Law on the Foundations of Taxation System; the Law on Subsidies for a Part of Interest on Priority Farming Loans; the Law on the Turnover Tax to Finance the Army; the Law on Joint Foreign Exchange Policy and Balance of Payments Projection; the Law on Transforming Foreign Exchange Losses From Foreign Currency Savings at the National Bank into Federal Public Loan; and the Law on Amending Regulations on Providing the Funds for the Federation's Founding Share in the Yugoslav Bank for International Economic Cooperation.

The SFRY Presidency has also discussed the information on the latest developments in Romania and expressed its shock because of the repressive and brutal measures. The Presidency has also been acquainted with the report on the situation in Central America in the wake of the U. S. intervention in Panama.

Simic's YPA Conference Report Noted

LD2411163989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 0814 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Yugoslav People's Army Conference: Introductory report by Petar Simic"—TANJUG headline]

[Text] Belgrade, 23 Nov (TANJUG)—The Ninth Conference of the LCY [League of Communists of Yugoslavia] Organization in the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] is taking place amid turbulent, dynamic, and almost dramatic social changes. The world we live in is undergoing radical changes. All regions in the world and all spheres of social life are in the grip of changes. Diverse processes with various implications are at work, their main characteristic being a deep and comprehensive crisis of the existing models of socialism. This crisis triggered radical social reforms in almost all socialist countries, and has generated far-reaching consequences for overall relations within the international community.

With this statement Vice Admiral Petar Simic, president of the Presidium of the LCY Organization in the YPA, opened his introductory report at the Ninth Conference of the LCY Organization in the YPA which is being held at the Army Club in Belgrade.

The most important outcome of current processes in the world is a reduction of tensions, conflicts, and confrontations, and initial results in disarmament and stepped-up cooperation in international relations. Changes of particular importance have taken place in relations between superpowers and blocs. In this way, Simic said, better prospects have been created for world peace, and the development and security of all countries.

Unfortunately, he continued, the most important causes behind the threats to these values, especially to the security of small countries, have not been tackled. The edifice of world peace continues to be fragile, and the possibility of sudden negative changes in world trends cannot be excluded with certainty. Unrealistic optimism, and decisions based on it, can have far-reaching negative consequences. As a result, the need for strengthening defense capabilities will for a long time remain the main interest and condition for the free development of the Yugoslav community. Of course, it goes without saying that the attainment of this goal primarily depends on whether our society is capable of resolving its own crisis, Simic said.

The crisis facing our society is deep, far-reaching, and long-term. It is, primarily, Simic noted, a crisis of the present model of socialism and of its implementation. In other words, by its nature this is a crisis of the system. In the economic sphere it has manifested itself in a prolonged stagnation in economic development, increasingly impoverishing both the economy and population, in general, and in its inability to keep abreast of the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution and the demands of the international division of labor. The cumulative effect of all this is a damaging hyperinflation, which is also functioning as a strong restrictive factor on our efforts to emerge from our difficulties. In the political sphere the crisis is most prominently manifested in mounting disintegrational tendencies. Particular interests have steadily been promoted over common ones.

State interference in social relations has given rise to bureaucratic forces. In their frantic struggle to consolidate their privileged positions these forces have imposed themselves as alleged representatives and guardians of national interests. This has dragged the country into a dangerous labyrinth of nationalist partitions and divisions. What nationalism is offering, he stressed, is a "perspective" of national-feudal partitions and primitive self-sufficiency. It is pushing us increasingly into ideological, political, and other confrontations, which have assumed their most drastic forms in Kosovo. There is evidence of diverse, mutually opposing ideological and political concepts being used as rallying points. Instead of countering these tendencies consistently, the LCY has, in fact, to a large extent become their proponent and generator.

Divisions in society are threatening the unity and integrity of Yugoslavia as a federal state, thus undermining the very foundations of our defense system and security, Petar Simic said.

The mentioned elements of the social situation exert a strong influence on life in the YPA and the LCY organization in it. The constant deepening of the crises threatens the strongpoints on which ideo-political work and overall activity in the Army are based. Negative social trends, in particular escalations of nationalistic state of mind and practice, are necessarily reflected upon

political awareness and behavior of people, upon dimensions and contents of problems which should be resolved. We are facing more vociferous challenges to the conception of the all people's defense, social and constitutional role of our Army. On top of all this, we are working under extremely unfavorable material conditions, since the funds for financing the Army's needs have been reduced year in and year out, Simic stressed.

We seek a solution to the above problems in, he added, a selective approach to tasks and to determination of priorities, modernization of the organization of work, a more thorough use of internal resources, and even in increased efforts of the entire Army composition, above all officers. As a result of that, we are successfully realizing the essential aims of the YPA functioning and development.

We hold that our main achievement is our success in preserving an all-Yugoslav profile of our Army and its continuous development as the common Armed Forces of all nations and nationalities, working people, and citizens of Yugoslavia, Simic said. Irrespective of increasingly more frequent attempts to bring into disrepute and to isolate the Army, we succeeded in safeguarding its political and moral integrity, and in enriching our relations and cooperation with the people.

Precisely because of its principled behavior and high social standing, the Army can act as one of the very important factors of stability, internal strength, and cohesion of Yugoslavia. The role of the YPA as a factor of social stabilization and security is especially prominent in the SAP of Kosovo, Simic stressed.

In the last few years, he added, major changes have been carried out in the way the Armed Forces are organized. We were the first in Europe to reduce the peacetime and wartime composition of the Armed Forces. However, by a technical and comprehensive modernization and, above all, by updating the system of training, leading, and commanding we have secured the level of their capability necessary for executing main tasks.

The general situation in the country has forced us to step up our political involvement in society in order to contribute to the efforts to find the best solutions for our social crisis. We have done this while aware of the fact that overcoming it is of crucial importance for the country's defenses, Simic said.

With the approach of the 14th extraordinary Congress, confrontations and conflicts in both the LCY and society over the ways of implementing and formulating individual reform resolutions are deepening, Simic noted, adding that the process of arriving at common views has been difficult and very slow. Under such circumstances our increased political involvement has been received with understanding and support from the majority of Communists, the working people, and citizens but at the same time it has become a subject of various interpretations and even manipulations. This is being done by means of promoting particular interests and adopting

particular approaches. These are also being used to question the popular character of the YPA.

It has been claimed, without any valid argument, that the YPA has become a supra-national institution which allegedly operates outside the society's interests or control. At the same time attempts are made to discredit us by claiming that as alleged guardians of an outmoded ideology we have become an obstacle to comprehensive social changes and democratization in social relations. We are at the same time being accused of conservatism and dogmatism, Simic said.

I would not enter into wider polemics with such stands. However, I wish to call attention to the fact that the position and social, and constitutional role of the Army are clearly defined. The YPA and the LCY organization in the Army neither can nor wish to model society according to their own interests. This is even more true as they have no particular interests outside the interests of our society and its defense, Petar Simic stressed.

On the other hand, YPA and the LCY organization in it, as an inseparable part of society and an integral element of the LCY, neither wish nor can distance themselves from key trends of our social development. We are showing this with this conference as well, the conference at which, in front of the Army and entire social public, we wish to define and explain our orientations with which we are moving toward the 14th extraordinary congress.

We are aware that our stands and views are not unquestionable and exempt from a democratic and critical debate. This is a matter of our present views on global problems of society and its defense. In a confrontation and dialogue with other approaches and views, they should assist in finding joint answers to questions raised by our reality and the times, Petar Simic said.

In our view the starting point and basic prerequisite for the success of social reforms and dealing with the crisis lie in achieving unity in the LCY: First, on what kind of socialism we wish and what kind of socialism is really possible within the existing social conditions and, second, what kind of Yugoslavia, as a federation, we want.

The worldwide crisis of socialism proves that current knowledge about its essence and historical possibilities is limited. For that reason, we are facing a complex task of critically reconsidering and reevaluating our own theoretical and ideological heritage. Only on that basis can we seek possible and desirable forms of socialism both for Yugoslavia and modern times.

Presently we can claim with certainty that civilizational and universal values present levels beneath which socialism cannot go without bringing into question its identity, he said. Socialism is valid and effective only if it overcomes the existing state of affairs, basically, bourgeois society. It has always been—and it will continue to

be—a critical stand toward the present from the viewpoint of what is possible and of the future.

Accordingly, Simic added, our desire and political will are not sufficient for the survival of socialist self-management in Yugoslavia. It will confirm its historical grounding only to the degree to which it proves to be an effective movement of the majority in overcoming the existing state of affairs. Hence, the idea and practice of socialist self-management must be infused with new dimensions. This also presupposes an orientation toward pluralism of ownership and political life.

Any rational discussion on the possibilities and the profile of socialism in Yugoslavia must proceed from the fact that its prospects are directly dependent on the LCY's ability to resolve its own social crisis. And this inevitably leads the LCY to consider fundamental issues on the functioning of the federation and relations between federal units, since all our problems and the causes and effects of the crisis are now focused here, he assessed.

YPA members regard Yugoslavia as the homeland of all her citizens and a democratic community of equal nations and nationalities. No one has the right to decide definitively and one-sidedly about the present and the future of Yugoslavia according to their current interests, needs, and knowledge. For that reason, all citizens, nations, and nationalities can jointly decide about possible changes in the character of the federation and relations within it. We base our stand on the fact that Yugoslavia's original sovereignty is grounded upon sovereignty of citizens and nations, nations not just in the sense of ethnicity but also in the sense of people. This is not contrary to the sovereignty of a nation, but it, indeed, presupposes it, Simic stressed.

These stances of the LCY members in the YPA are supported by an opinion poll on "Public opinion of LCY members on social reform and transformation within the LCY," carried out for the LCY CC during May 1989. In that opinion poll, LCY members in the YPA unambiguously expressed that they are resolutely in favor of setting up a modern and efficient federation with precisely defined authority. They hold that a new SFRY Constitution would have to define Yugoslavia precisely as a single, federal, and socialist community of all citizens and of equal nations and nationalities. They view the SFRY Constitution as the highest legal and political act of such a community and that republican constitutions cannot be contrary to it in any point. They also regard as unacceptable any advocacy of the primacy of republican over a federal constitution.

This kind of federation, Simic assessed, is the key prerequisite for the development of Yugoslavia and its successful defense. As a modern state of law the federation must have clearly defined authorities, mechanisms, and assets for carrying out its constitutional functions and those in the area of defense. These functions cannot

be the subject of daily political negotiations or a product of a momentary relation between political forces.

We are aware, he continued, that the present solutions in the area of defense are not given once and for all and unalterable. However, we are certain that at this juncture there are no social justifications for changing basic conceptual precepts.

A systemic realization of the basic precepts of all people's defense will be altered conditional on changes in the political system, characteristics of a modern war and armed struggle, and potential forms of threats to the security of the SFRY, achievements of science and technology, realistic economic possibilities, and the needs of society. After all, this is how we have approached issues of the country's defense so far.

We resolutely refute theses that the concept of all people's defense leads to a militarization of social relations, since this is precisely their direct negation. Simic pointed out. Therefore we find a lack of supportable argument in the unacceptable claim that the YPA is carrying out some kind of a bureaucratic-technocratic revision of the concept and that through alleged centralist solutions it pushes human beings to the periphery of decision-making, stifles socialization, and even the national independence of individual nations.

Those who are today denying the concept of all people's defense allegedly on behalf of protecting freedom of human beings and national sovereignty are actually trying to revise and break up the present defense system. In fact the intention is to use the idea of absolute national sovereignty and fully round off republican statehood and create a republican Army. That is how we can explain frequent demands for a change in the physiology of the Armed Forces. In these demands, as Tito used to say, separatism gets its concrete forms, Simic said.

In our view, the Armed Forces should in the future, as well, develop as a united and effective force of Yugoslav society. This at the same time also implies the increased responsibility of all subjects of society for a further development and strengthening of other elements of all people's defense and social self-protection. In this context the YPA should assume rational dimensions, should be functional and capable of acting in all conditions as the skeleton of the defense and protection system, and should fulfill its part of responsibility in the defense of independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, and the constitutionally established order of the SFRY.

Because of this, Simic continued, any further reduction of the YPA is possible only on condition that ready forces are strengthened as well as modernized organizationally and, in particular, technically. This process is complex and demands appropriate funds. Expensive and complex combat systems, based on top technologies do not allow any kind of improvisation or half-baked solutions. That is why the YPA can fully deal with these problems only if certain social prerequisites are satisfied.

First, this means that the social crisis should be overcome and the economic development of society become more dynamic, that conditions are created for the federation to effectively carry out its role and responsibility for the development of the YPA, and that steady and stable sources of financing it are ensured. Only on stable material bases is it possible to have precise and long-term plans for the development and modernization of the YPA and only in this context is it possible to numerically reduce the Army.

At this time, unfortunately, these conditions have not been realized and the YPA must, even without this, be able to perform its constitutional role. Because of this the YPA's ability to carry out its tasks effectively, that is, its combat readiness, greatly depends on the quality of the human factor and the moral and political unity of its members, he said.

In the period between the eighth and ninth conferences the LCY organization in the YPA was primarily engaged in consolidating and preserving the Army's moral and political unity, Simic said.

However, processes in society and especially in the LCY demanded from our organization and its members increased ideological and political activity both among its own ranks and in LCY forums and bodies. A more difficult task was to alleviate the negative consequences of the current conflicts and confrontations within the LCY. I believe that we can note with satisfaction that we have preserved ideopolitical unity of the Army Communists under such conditions.

Proceeding from the assumption that the system is in crisis, Communists from the YPA have been from the very beginning in favor of accelerated social reform. And not just in favor of any reform, but of comprehensive and fundamental changes, which would reach the source of the crisis and all areas of social life, he underscored.

However, we believe that reform is not possible, at least not in a socialist and democratic direction, without the transformation of the LCY ideopolitical profile, organizational structure, and manners of its activity. If the LCY wants to have a decisive influence on the content and directions of social reforms, it must first resolve its own crisis. It must overcome its own ideological, political, and theoretical unimaginativeness, tendencies toward federalization among its ranks, and inefficiency of action. Thus, it is in its interest that room is left in society for the competition of various ideas, political orientations, and programs. In essence, this refers to a demand that the LCY, under new conditions and in a democratic struggle, confirms and legalizes, again and in a new manner, its ideopolitical role.

Our opposition to a multiparty system in the current conditions is based on the conviction that that road would lead to further national, and even nationalistic, divisions in Yugoslavia. We advocated nonparty political pluralism, whose framework would be an adequately

organized Socialist Alliance of working People of Yugoslavia [SAWPY]. We do not see the future of our country either in the restoration of a bourgeois parliamentary system or in statist centralism. The basis of its future would have to be a program of socialist development in a federal community of equal nations and nationalities, around which all progressive forces would gather, united on a SAWPY platform and without anyone being entitled to a monopoly. Political pluralism should be expressed within that framework and on those lines, and the trust in the leading ideological political forces should be confirmed through practice. So, our opposition to a multiparty system arises not from some special Army interests but from the interests of a continued development of all Yugoslavia on the principles of the antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia and, within that composition, the functions of its defense.

The LCY organization in the YPA, as an inseparable part of the LCY, is also being transformed and involved in the process of transformation of the LCY, Simic said. It is striving to enrich its content and innovate in the methods of its activity by adjusting them to the conditions and demands of the times. However, the LCY organization in the YPA stands by its stance that the recommendations and demands for the YPA to be depoliticized and for the LCY in the YPA to be abolished are unacceptable. The LCY with Josip Broz Tito at its head created the YPA out of the national liberation movement, was the ideological guiding force for all its postwar development, and at the present time, it cannot and does not agree to a subordinate role in directing its future development.

The LCY organization in the YPA still constitutes an important factor in the combat readiness of the Armed Forces of the SFRY as a whole. Oriented in its activities primarily toward people, their relations, and the meaning of joint involvement and motivating values for the efficient execution of the task of defending the homeland, it is an irreplaceable factor for the YPA's moral and political strength.

Thanks to the activity of the Communists in our Army, the way has been barred to the disintegrating influences of nationalism in our ranks, and the values without which there is no future for the SFRY and its defense have been affirmed.

All the activities to prepare today's conference were conducted with a view to preparations for the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress. This is also expected of us in the debate which is to follow, in the adoption of the program of ideopolitical tasks, and the elections. We have tried to make the draft documents we have prepared reflect as realistically as possible our achievements since the last conference, and also express the views and ideas of the Communists in the YPA on the present situation and the immediate future of the Yugoslav socialist community and the LCY. It is your right and duty in the debate on these documents to form a final judgment and appraisal. Thus you will assist in the direct preparation of our delegates for the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress which will have a difficult and responsible task.

I ask you to be critical, realistic, rational, and efficient. Petar Simic said, concluding his introductory report.